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The problems and areas of Communism that should be taught in the schools were presented. Chapter I, "The Schools and the Study of Communism," emphasized the need to study Communism in the public schools because of the intense feeling coming out of communities for such education. The second and third chapters were self-explanatory, "Study of Russian History." The fourth chapter focused attention on the study of Communist societies in historical perspective, and chapter five focused on studying Communism with the students' perspective, without the teacher's dominating and directing particular reactions and attitudes toward it. Chapter six showed how St. Louis educators responded to public reaction against teaching Communism in the public schools, by setting up a lecture course for teachers that provided in-service and graduate degree credit on the subject of the Bill of Rights. The last chapter described briefly other programs in different schools that offered courses in Russian History and Communism. These schools included the John Burroughs School in St. Louis, the Lakeside Schools in Seattle, the Tabor Academy in Massachusetts, and the Atlanta Public Schools in Georgia. Suggested additional material included material prepared by the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith, the American Political Science Association, and Peter Schrag's article "The True-Blue Schoolhouse", in <u>Commonweal</u>.							
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TEACHING ABOUT COMMUNISM

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A DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM
AND
A DESCRIPTION OF SOME PRACTICES

BY
DAVID MALLERY

NAIS

DECEMBER, 1962

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

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This monograph is No. 6 in a series of studies initiated by the Committee on Educational Practices of the National Council of Independent Schools and now continued under the direction of its successor, the Committee on Research of the National Association of Independent Schools. The author, David Mallery, formerly a teacher of English at Germantown Friends School, is director of studies for the Committee. He is also the author of New Approaches in Education, published by the National Council of Independent Schools in March, 1961, and of High School Students Speak Out, a study done under the auspices of the Educational Records Bureau, published by Harper and Brothers in April, 1962.

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**U. S. Office of Education
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**TEACHING
ABOUT
COMMUNISM**

**A DEFINITION OF THE PROBLEM
AND
A DESCRIPTION OF SOME PRACTICES.**

**By
DAVID MALLERY**

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

4 LIBERTY SQUARE, BOSTON 9, MASS.

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CHAPTER I

THE SCHOOLS AND THE STUDY OF COMMUNISM

New headlines—community pressures—the latest fad vs. a real need—the embattled teacher and the remote teacher—the demand for indoctrination and for crash programs in “anti-communism”—a plea for realism and responsibility in the study of history

“STUDY OF COMMUNISM GAINS IN U.S. SCHOOLS AS DEBATE ON AIMS WIDENS”

“SCHOOL COURSES TO TELL EVILS OF COMMUNISM”

“COMMUNISM STUDY IN DEPTH URGED”

“PLANNERS AGREE ON ANTI-RED VIEW IN COURSES — DIFFER WIDELY ON EMPHASIS”

“COURSE DESIGNED TO ALERT CITY’S STUDENTS TO MENACE OF COMMUNISM”

Headlines like these and a chorus of voices behind them are making clear that a whole new wave of intense feeling is welling from communities around the country on the need to teach about communism in our schools. Enthusiasm, in many cases actual pressure, for school study about communism is coming from respectable and non-respectable sources, from thoughtful people anxious for school students to meet some historical realities of past and present, from fringe people using anti-communism as a means to work into the school curriculum actual anti-democratic points of view, and from a whirling world of people and views in between extremes.

Community pressure on schools to move into the minds of young people and Set Them Straight is nothing new, of course. Public eagerness for this or that job that the schools should take on has alternately stimulated, infuriated, challenged and cowed school people for decades in this country. The ironic thing about the present wave of feeling on teaching about communism is that it is erupting in many communities with the zest and color of the latest fad.

Ten years ago a corresponding clamor was raised against the very mention of the word "communism" in a classroom. The feeling apparently was that if the subject were not mentioned, our young people would not be infected and even, perhaps, the menace would go away. It seems that today the clamor cries out that actual anti-communism inoculations in the young will do the trick. At the noisiest points, the cry is for actual anti-communism indoctrination courses. This means that in some schools, school systems, even states, required time is to be set aside for a program of "anti-communism," defined in a variety of ways depending on the intensities that produced the program. Several publishers are now scurrying to meet the challenge of competition in the anti-communism text book market, such courses being "the hottest thing around."

The sounds of the clamor are today's. The intensity and nature of the clamor have a familiarity to school people over the years. As always, the teacher is challenged to look into his own mind, to examine his own learning, to question his own program and materials, and to map out his own best approaches to doing his job. This has never been easy for a teacher's conscience and integrity. It is not easy now. It is a good deal less easy for the teacher in a community boiling with anxieties and hostilities which are suddenly focused on the schools than for a teacher behind the protecting walls of a school which is for some reason or other removed from the center of these intensities. Each of these teachers has a set of challenges to face. The first, embattled, charts his course in the knowledge that state legislatures or pressure groups have no business telling him what to teach or how to teach. Yet he is confronted with state demands, community pressures, and often actual materials to use in his classroom. He is still left with the challenge of teaching, not indoctrinating, of leading his students to thought, not to incantation. He is still left with the challenge of putting the latest fad or pressure into a manageable perspective and teaching accordingly — and still preserving his head. And he is left with the demand from his own conscience that he continue to grow, to learn, and to teach with intellectual honesty. No one can say that these challenges are easy to meet. Least of all can the well-insulated teacher behind the walls send acceptable messages to the embattled teacher to preserve his integrity, disregard all current clamor, and rise to the fine example of Socrates' decision to defy the lunacy around him.

The teacher behind the walls has his own set of challenges that are quite different. His school may have a tradition of trust in the independent teaching of its faculty. Ideally, this can stimulate the teacher to explore and experiment. His apparent, deceptively comforting dis-

tance from the sound of the clamor can make such a teacher feel the weight on him to do the best and boldest possible teaching. It can also make him disregard "all this public noise" and amble through outworn and unrealistic approaches to the world in his classroom. He can even develop a kind of gentle contempt for the embattled teacher, whose professing of intellectual integrity, of mental independence and of personal courage in teaching may not ring with the confidence and eloquence of his own.

The two teachers are really up against the same fundamental challenge from their own consciences, and from their vocation as teacher. Each has a world to study, a need to approach as realistic, as "actual" a vision of that world as is possible for him, and a responsibility to challenge his students to devise rational approaches of their own toward "seeing actually" and coping with the realities of the world. Each of these teachers' responses to such approaches as these will be emphatic:

"The presentation of the anti-communism course must be very firm and positive, permitting no challenge from any student to the basic proposition that communism is wrong and our way of life is the only way. Stated differently, academic freedom should not permit academic discussion of whether we are right in this course."

and

"The stressing of both sides of a controversy only confuses the young and encourages them to make snap judgments based on insufficient evidence. Until they are old enough to understand both sides of a question, they should be taught only the American side."

Even the reduction of extraordinary complexity to *two sides* will appal either of our two teachers. And perhaps even before responding to the moral or philosophical principle involved in such a demand for indoctrination of students, they might smile at the thought of trying to make such a dictating, I'm-telling-you method carry effectively *any* message about *anything* to any collection of adolescents either teacher has ever faced in a classroom.

Learning the Answers vs. Exploring the Situation

A number of school people with whom I have consulted have put this matter in helpful perspective. These people are placed everywhere from behind the protected school walls to the classroom-island in a

community in uproar. Central in their devotion to the job is the urgent need to help our young people develop the skills and judgment for independent and courageous examination of data. Professor Frank Freidel of Harvard University writes: "I feel strongly that any well-taught American history course should serve much more effectively to conquer communism than a rote indoctrination. Primarily, and above all, a good American history course should teach a student to use his own critical judgment. It should create in him a flexibility of mind, healthy constructive scepticism, and the ability to avoid making or swallowing pat answers."

From Tucson, Arizona, the Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Thomas L. Lee, makes this same point emphatically, and with a word about the "embattled" position: "Ours is not a function of propagandizing or indoctrinating boys and girls. We believe that the communist threat is so closely interwoven with other problems of this age that it cannot be properly understood when viewed in isolation. We want our youth to become active participants in this nation's life and we think that, in order to do this, they must be able to make intelligent choices among known alternatives. We introduce the subject of communism at appropriate points in all courses, wherever it fits as a logical and factual part of the material. We know from first-hand experience that this is the difficult way to do it. We could simply do as some others have done — develop a 'course' on communism and let it stand as evidence that we are truly patriotic. We know that the teacher is constantly exposed to misquotes when this topic is under consideration. Our approach prolongs the contact and the consequent danger. When some well-intentioned citizens are viewing everything from social security to medicare as socialism on the road to communism, we are bound to have problems. Professionally, however, we have an inescapable duty to the young people to teach with honesty and intelligence to the end that their vision of problems may be unclouded by bias and prejudice. In every generation fears have pressed in upon the populace to such an extent that the schools have been brought under fire. I think we need to view the current situation in this context."

"It may be too tempting and too simple to say that the best history teaching shuns all indoctrination," writes Nathaniel S. French, headmaster of the North Shore Country Day School in Winnetka, Illinois. "It is more accurate to recognize that history teaching must examine *means and principles* in the light of our society's ethical and religious traditions, from the Ten Commandments to the Golden Rule. When we examine communism, we examine a means to an end."

From Phillips Exeter Academy, Henry Bragdon¹ writes that "the trouble with even the best of the newly-developed texts for 'anti-communism courses' is that they trump every communist ace before it is played, never suggest that our society may need reformation, and therefore wholly fail to give any notion of the ideological strength of communism. The communists are just the bad guys, and we the good guys. They never suggest that one reason, for instance, why the communists enjoy an ideological advantage over us is that communism, whatever its other appalling faults, is non-racist, and this helps the bad guys in the struggle for the minds of men because we continue to practice racial discrimination."

Such a position is an expression of a school philosophy as embodied in this comment from Phillips Exeter Academy's Principal, William G. Saltonstall: "To offer courses in anti-communism or anti-capitalism or any other 'ism' seems, on the face of it, to be a negation of the open-minded approach to learning. Young people know very quickly when their elders are trying to indoctrinate them, and the process usually has the opposite effect from that which was intended. We think that both capitalism and communism deserve objective study by young people of high school age. In our courses, our morning assemblies, and in our program of outside lecturers these matters are vigorously treated from various points of view."

A plea not only for intellectual honesty in teaching but also for *awareness of the context* of this whole question comes from the chairman of the history department at Oak Park and River Forest High School in Oak Park, Illinois. A. Wesley Roehm writes: "We are unalterably opposed to a separate course in the subject and to making a crusade of anti-communism in the pattern of certain rightist groups. We do not intend to teach about communism 'for the specific purpose of inducing a predetermined negative emotional response,' as John Fischer of Teachers' College, Columbia University has put it. On the contrary, we are willing to trust students to arrive at some value judgments of their own through a balanced examination of the historical background and achievements of *both* democracy and communism. To that end we are planning in our one-semester government course, recently made mandatory, to integrate the study of communism within the larger context of the study of competing ideologies and comparative government. This

¹ A constructive and valuable help to teachers on "means and principles" in our own history is the new paperback Mr. Bragdon, Samuel P. McCutcheon and Stuart Gerry Brown have written: *Frame of Government*, a collection of major documents in American history, with historical backgrounds, analyses, and commentaries (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1962).

approach is based on the premise that in a democratic society a student should acquire a clear understanding of the rationale behind his society's principles and practices as a prerequisite for making comparisons with other ideologies. Such an approach should also serve to emphasize that historically the present communist challenge is but a phase in the centuries-old conflict between freedom and tyranny."

This reminder of the teacher's first obligation is offered by the Rutgers University History Department Chairman, Henry R. Winkler: "It seems to me that 'anti-communism courses' and most education which makes it a special purpose to indoctrinate in a particular point of view are fundamentally destructive of any of the values which most of us regard as imperative in the educational process. I feel very strongly that my students should be exposed to the data and to conflicting interpretations of the data, including interpretations which are contrary to the accepted patterns of belief and commitment in our own society.

"I am old fashioned enough to believe that any firmly held faith must be willing and indeed eager to accept the intellectual challenge posed by other faiths if it is to have any meaning and viability. At the level of college freshmen and of secondary school upper classmen, I think that a course which presents to students source materials reflecting different approaches and points of view will enable them to work toward their own commitments at a level of increasing maturity and with respect for the need to examine assumptions and to test inherited attitudes.

"I take seriously the view that the teacher's first obligation is toward the search for truth and for extended wisdom wherever that search may lead. It seems to me that students are more than sufficiently indoctrinated in the values of our heritage and that indeed those values will be more firmly and intelligently held if such students are trained from as early a time as possible in attitudes of questioning, investigation, and simple curiosity about ways of life and systems of government of all kinds."

CHAPTER II

STUDY OF COMMUNISM IN ITS HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The challenge to history and the social sciences — protecting students from historical judgment vs. exposing them to it — controversy in the classroom — learning not what to think but how to think about difficult historical questions

"An indoctrination course is about as unpromising an approach to the problem as can be devised. It runs counter to all that the verb 'to teach' implies. What is needed is not a single course that attempts to indoctrinate, but a series of courses that teach — not communism or democracy or anything else that society happens to 'cotton' to at the moment — but history." The teaching of history is, of course, what is in question here, and the comment comes from Thomas H. Buffinton, a history teacher at Tabor Academy in Marion, Mass. Many teachers of history have said that a good course in American history and a good course in world history are the two great needs in bringing students face to face with world realities, past and present. Surely no teacher saying this thinks his statement closes the subject. What kind of "good"? What emphases? What materials? What periods for special focus of study? What questions and subjects to put to students to track down in their study? Such matters follow the insistence on "a good history course" rather than a crash program on anti-communism.

What Should History and the Social Sciences Do?

There are many people who wish that the teaching of history and the social sciences were today at the point of challenge, excitement and creativity where the teaching of mathematics was a few years ago, and, for that matter, where the teaching of science and foreign languages and English are now. Charles R. Keller, formerly a professor of history at Williams College, then a key person in the launching of the Advanced

Placement Program in secondary schools and colleges, and now Director of the John Hay Fellows Program, has been seeing (and starting) what he has called "brush fires" in developing better teaching of history and the social sciences. What he calls for history and the social sciences to *do* is certainly relevant here:¹ "History and the social sciences are subjects with disciplines. What should be their role? Here is an answer:

"1. To acquaint students with certain facts. There is no other way to deal with these subjects. But not *all* facts and not *only* facts.

"2. To give students' minds the particular kind of development which these subjects provide, moving ahead in a sequential manner from course to course. In courses we must stress not only the 'what' but also the 'why' and the 'what of it.'

"3. To help students understand the past, so that they will realize where mankind has come from, what men's struggles have been, how and why men have done what they have done. Here are roots; here is identification with the past.

"4. There are the present and the future too. What are the economic problems, the political problems, the international problems, the social problems? How shall we look at them, where have they come from, what shall we do about them?

"5. We live in the United States and have a peculiar obligation to know as much as we can, in no chauvinistic way, about our own country, its past and its present. We live in the world. We must know other countries, their pasts and their presents.

"6. We must know men and their roles, forces and their roles, and change which is always with us.

"7. We must know the places where men live and move and have their being."

Dr. Keller made this point on study of democracy's history and nature: "I want students to know how American democracy got started, how it has fared through the years, where it stands today. Students should be acquainted with democracy elsewhere in the world, and with governmental forms which are the antithesis of democracy. They should know how our government functions and how other governments function.

"Students should develop an enthusiasm, based on reason, for

¹ These comments are from a 1962 speech Dr. Keller made to the Central New York Council for the Social Studies.

democracy and what it stands for: the individual with rights and duties. They should acquire knowledge of political parties and procedures and obtain information that they will need as future voters. Democracy means responsibilities and duties as well as rights and privileges. We do less talking about the former than we should. Democracy should be something of an absolute in a country where pragmatism is the prevailing philosophy."

These observations are certainly pertinent for teachers seeking to spark their own "brush fires" in approaching the teaching of history with vigor, realism, and challenge to their students. The subject of communism in its historical setting takes on a fuller dimension in view of these comments. It seems fair to say that the question is not whether or not to offer "good solid courses on the nature of communism." And for us it surely is not whether or not to offer an indoctrination-in-the-Red-Menace crash program. The question is more appropriately put this way: "What are some of the ways history can be studied in order to bring those studying it to some intelligent grasp of realities of fact and idea, and of tools for thinking, exploring and judging?" Once that question is taken seriously, the subject of communism becomes appropriately one aspect of the teacher's challenge, one phase, as Mr. Roehm wrote, of the centuries-old conflict between freedom and tyranny, one set of historical realities of particular immediacy in our world.

Historical Judgments

"One of the most pernicious doctrines in the field of secondary education today," writes Frederick S. Allis, Jr., a teacher of history at Phillips Academy in Andover, Mass., "is the belief that high school students must not be exposed to historical judgment, that they must be 'protected' from considered commitment, that they must instead be given a kind of historical smorgasbord with something in it for everyone. The necessity for judgment in the teaching of history in high schools is, if anything, greater than elsewhere. Apart from the study of history for itself, high school courses are, consciously or not, training students to deal in the kind of materials that they will be asked to consider as citizens. If such students are to do any more than become infected with the conventional attitudes of their communities, they must be taught the necessity of examining both sides of a controversial issue and then reaching a conclusion about it. If neither textbook, author, nor teacher ever makes such a judgment, it is going to be difficult, if not impossible, for the student to realize the importance of any judgments in contempo-

rary society. On the other hand, the example of a textbook writer or teacher making a considered judgment on the basis of available evidence — and furthermore, of doing it regularly as a natural part of dealing with historical material — can provide the best possible kind of training in the type of judgment the student will in the future be asked to make as a citizen.”¹ The kind of examining and judging described here is, of course, a very different thing from the kind of indoctrination program which is being widely advocated now, since Mr. Allis’ comments assume and insist on the challenge to look at more than one position in the study of any controversial issue. Note too the assumption that controversial issues must be taught as controversial issues, not as problems for which teacher, text, and community provide incantatory answers.

Teachers need to be ready for some classroom surprises in handling controversial matters. Van R. Halsey, Jr., is one of a group at Amherst College which is developing a new American history course for the eleventh grade. This group has already published a number of valuable pamphlet-units for schools. Mr. Halsey makes clear for himself and his group that “our own approach to the history course that we are developing is that one cannot teach communism as an isolated phenomenon without some comparison material. We have one unit on the Depression in America which has a section dealing with economic collapse in other countries at the same time, and with other responses to it. We have selections from Lenin and Mussolini and Hitler. It seems to me that this is the proper approach. We may eventually do a unit on the Cold War and again this would be treating the communist society within the world at large rather than by itself.” At the same time, he warns of the possible “surprises” with an example as apparently straightforward as this one: “To illustrate the difficulties of this problem about teaching about communism, we have a section in our unit on the Twenties that deals with varieties of Fundamentalism in that period. One of the selections deals with the Red Scare of 1919 and is written by Attorney General Palmer, quoted from *Forum Magazine*. It talks in hysterical language about deporting Reds and communist revolutionaries. This is intended to show the student how hysterical people were. It had the reverse effect. Students that we tried this on were amazed to find how prevalent the communists were in this country and thought that Attorney General Palmer’s solution was a good one!”

¹ Frederick S. Allis, Jr., “The Handling of Controversial Material in High School Textbooks in American History,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 72 (To be published early in 1963.)

Controversy in the Classroom

Teachers wary of controversial issues in the study of history may be heartened by Fred M. Hechinger's reminder that "history is controversial. To deny this is to ask the pupils to deny their country's past and to start all over again as something like historical orphans."¹ In the article quoted earlier, Mr. Allis adds, on the question of facing up to controversy in the history classroom: "A steady refusal to deal frankly with controversial material and to reach a judgment on it will convince students that the teacher or author is a kind of moral eunuch and that the study of history really does not matter. It becomes instead a dreary chronicle of names and dates. In contrast, a considered judgment in a controversial area can launch a discussion that will not only illuminate the issue under consideration but illustrate the process of arriving at historical conclusions as well."

He concludes that "the greatest lesson to be learned from repeated consideration of historical judgments is the eventual realization, often painfully arrived at, that there are no final 'answers' to difficult historical questions. In short, making a commitment on a controversial issue does not mean telling the student what to think about historical material; it means demonstrating, by example, *how* to think about it."

¹Fred M. Hechinger, "Textbooks and the 23," *Saturday Review*, February 20, 1954.

CHAPTER III

THE STUDY OF RUSSIAN HISTORY

Concepts, attitudes and information about Russia and the Soviet Union — a senior course introducing Russian civilization — another course emphasizing Russian literature — suggestions to teachers on “how not to be buried under dialectics” in their teaching about communism

In a paper prepared for the American Council of Learned Societies, Professor Michael B. Petrovich of the University of Wisconsin¹ sets this major question for history teachers: “What kinds of knowledge, what concepts and attitudes about the Soviet Union in particular and Eastern Europe in general, should American school children have acquired by the end of their senior year in high school?” The paper, entitled “Russia and Eastern Europe in Primary and Secondary Education,” brings scholarly and challenging reflection to answering this question. And central to the statement’s position is the insistence that “a crash program is not enough,” and that a “know thy enemy” approach or, for that matter, a “know thy friends” approach to the study of history is not to be considered: “Such approaches lead to a dogmatism which divides the world into the ‘good’ and the ‘bad,’ truth and error. It measures all men by their real or presumed attitudes toward us in the cold war. Such a dichotomy is not only unrealistic, for real life is never that simple, but it is harmful in assuming the conflict of irreconcilables when experience teaches otherwise. We do not suggest for a moment that it is good educational policy to hide the fact that there are basic ideological differences between the democratic conception and the totalitarian. On the contrary. But we do object to the emphasis on knowing-your-enemy because this is not good education: it is indoctrination. It hinders the student from searching all the facts, from delving into the rationale of an oppos-

¹The paper is printed in a collection of articles of extraordinary interest to teachers: *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences*, sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and the National Council for the Social Studies (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1962).

ing point of view, from testing one's own values, and from earning an opinion. Where there is mere acquiescence there can be no education."

Digging at the Roots

The paper's discussion of ten major themes in Russian history is illuminating and provides impressive illustration for the description of the Soviet Union as "almost fitting the rhyme we associate with the American bride's wedding attire — something old, something new, something borrowed, something blue — only the color is red. And even with respect to the color, it is symbolically significant that Red Square bore that name centuries before the Bolshevik Revolution. From the standpoint of an area study, our subject is not simply the Soviet Union — a political entity just past forty — but also the Russia from which the Soviet regime has sprung. To understand the institutions of Soviet life we must dig at their roots, for it is not only change but continuity which makes up the whole picture. Contemporary Russia, for example, does not begin in 1917 but with the industrialization of the 1880's or even the emancipation of the serfs in the 1860's. As Edward Hallett Carr has observed, the chariot of Soviet foreign policy is driven by two horses — not only the red horse of communist expansion but the older white horse of Russian national self-interest. The historian is around to remind people, for example, that the Soviet intervention in the recent Hungarian revolt had its equally devastating parallel during the Hungarian revolt of 1848-49; that Russian domination over many of the nationalities of Eastern Europe antedates Stalin by centuries, that rule by the few over the many is a historical pattern in Russia, etc., etc. Again we must insist that to explain is not to justify, but knowing such things makes us better able to evaluate the nature of Soviet Communism.

"Thus knowledge of the Russian past is indispensable to an understanding of the Soviet present. We, of course, begin with the proposition that even without the Soviet present the Russian past would be worth studying. However, let us exploit our natural interest in the present without unduly sacrificing the integrity of the past, to show what factors in Russian history before 1917 can illuminate the period which followed."

He makes this interesting comment on Russia and communism: "Any discussion of communism should stress that no ideology operates in a vacuum once it becomes a working system. It necessarily inherits much of the past. It is a question whether communism has changed Russia more, or whether Russia has altered communism. Thus one ought to study both the theory and the practice of any ideology."

Dr. Petrovich's "Basic Concepts of Russian History" are quoted here because of their special interest and challenge to history teachers. He develops each of these in his paper, and the reader is urged to follow up on the full statement:

- "1. The vast masses of the Russian people have been traditionally disinterested in participating in government and have been politically passive . . .
2. The Russian peasant way of life is traditionally based on social democracy and communal living . . .
3. Russian society has for centuries consisted of a small ruling class on top, the vast peasant masses below, and only a thin layer of middle class and workers between, and then only in relatively recent times . . .
4. For centuries the State has been the prime mover in Russian history, and most of the great changes in Russian life have been effected from above . . .
5. The Russian state has been ruled like an armed camp for centuries . . .
6. Russia has long pursued certain basic aims in its foreign policy that have become a part of Soviet foreign policy . . .
7. Russia has long felt the ambivalence of its relation to the West . . .
8. There has long been an idea in Russian history that the Russian nation has a mission to fulfill that is destined to go beyond the borders of Russia . . .
9. The Russians are and have been an extraordinarily gifted and creative people . . .
10. Finally, it is necessary for American students to realize the strength of Russian patriotism, quite apart from Communism . . .".

What Should Our Students Know About the Soviet Union?

Coming to the question, "How much about the Soviet Union itself should American pupils know?", Professor Petrovich urges "the historical approach always in the broadest sense of history. Under such headings as the Revolutions of 1917, Lenin's regime, Stalin's rise to power, the Five-year Plans, the Second World War, the expansion of the Soviet Union, the post Stalin period and the Soviet Union as the leader of the world communism, Soviet achievement in the arts and sciences, and Soviet government and society today practically everything important about Soviet government, foreign policy, economy, society, and culture can be said that one has time to say."

He concludes his statement with a brief presentation of ten issues which teachers and students would do well to consider in their study of the Soviet Union since 1917:

“(1) There should be a discussion of the basic and immediate causes of the Revolutions of 1917. The student might compare these revolutions with the American or French Revolutions. He should be able to define revolution as something more than an uprising or rebellion. He must know that there were two Russian Revolutions in 1917, and that it was not the Communists who overthrew the tsarist government. In this connection it is instructive to know that we were the first major government to grant official recognition to the Russian government which resulted from the February Revolution of 1917, and the last major government to recognize the Soviet government which the October Revolution brought to power. The nexus between war and revolution should be discussed. The student should be able to answer why as small a group as the Bolsheviks were able to gain control of so vast a country.

“(2) Through their study of Lenin, American students should learn that communist leaders are not apt to be peasants or even workers, but intellectuals with a theory and the ability to attract through ideas and slogans. Students can follow through his career how ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ became in fact dictatorship by a Party and its leaders. Lenin’s regime shows the techniques of the terror against ‘class enemies’ during the Civil War in Russia. Students should learn that there were more sides involved than ‘Whites’ and ‘Reds.’ It was in Lenin’s time, too, that the foreign intervention took place; students might take stock of America’s part in that episode, as well as in the Hoover Relief Commission during the post-war famine. Very instructive is Lenin’s whole retreat from ‘War Communism’ to the New Economic Policy; for one thing, it should prove to students the flexibility of Soviet tactics as distinct from the permanence of communist ideological objectives.

“(3) Stalin’s rise to power necessarily brings up the question of the inevitability of dictatorship by one man in the Soviet system. It reveals what can happen in a government with no effective checks and balances. It illustrates, as does the French Revolution, how the Revolution can eat its own children. Above all, Stalin’s success in attaining power shows what happens when a revolutionary force has become a government which requires stability.

“(4) The five-year plans and the drive for collectivization of agriculture should give students an opportunity to study the bases of the

communist planned economy. They should learn, for example, that egalitarianism or common ownership of all property are not communist goals. Above all, they must observe the impact of rapid industrialization on a traditionally agrarian society, for it is this that makes communism so attractive to many members of underdeveloped countries. . . .

“(5) The Soviet Union’s role in the events leading up to the second World War, especially the pact with Hitler, should illustrate the extreme flexibility of Soviet foreign policy. On the other hand, the magnificent fight which the vast majority (though not all) of Soviet citizens put up against the German invader should demonstrate not only the industrial might of the Soviet Union, but the devotion of the people to their country regardless of the form of government. Communist appeals to specifically Russian nationalism are noteworthy, as is the partial rapprochement of the Soviet State with the Orthodox Church. The American student should be reminded of our alliance and how it worked. He should also realize the cost of the war to the Soviet Union in human and material terms. In any over-all view of Soviet foreign policy in the last four decades, the relationship between any one policy (and there were at least eight) and the domestic situation should be pointed out. Also the question should be raised, at least, whether Soviet foreign policy is determined by ideology or national self-interest.

“(6) From our standpoint, the dominant theme in the post-war period deals with foreign relations: the quest for a working world order through the United Nations, and the expansion of Soviet domination in especially Eastern Europe as an obstacle to world harmony. American students should learn by what different means communism came to the Soviet Union’s satellites, and what it means to be a satellite. They must also realize that there are differences within the communist bloc — that Yugoslavia has broken with Moscow though it remains communist, that Poland is not as rigidly communist as, for example, next door Czechoslovakia, and that China is not a mere satellite at all. It should be clear to the student that while Moscow welcomes all unrest against old regimes in the world, especially in the colonial areas, and may even support it morally or materially, it is not the cause of this unrest.

“(7) The post-Stalin era is a significant turning point in tactics, though not aims. The dominant themes are a certain loosening of controls at home coupled with a drive for a higher standard of living, and proclamation of the policy of Peaceful Coexistence between the communist and non-communist world. Students must be given a realistic appraisal of peaceful coexistence so that they will not mistake it for an

offer of permanent friendship and cooperation, or, on the other hand, as a mere trick. It is neither.

"(8) Any realistic description of the Soviet Union today should recognize that this is a country of extremes — of rapid advances in some fields and a terrible lag in others. To discuss just the advances would be a false overestimation; to stress just the backwardness is dangerous belittling. We have previously stated the need to show the pre-Soviet foundations of advances in the arts and sciences. Americans ought to learn who the great men of Soviet letters and the arts are and under what conditions, both favorable and unfavorable, they create. We should know more about Soviet science than their success with rockets and space ships. American students might be motivated more if they learned something about the education system in the USSR and what it demands of pupils. (They might also get to appreciate our system more!)

"(9) American school children should learn about the workings of the Soviet government. They should be able to identify the main agencies of the State and of the communist party. They should have an idea of what the relationship between State and Party is. They should realize how exclusive the Party is and that it permits only a small fraction of the total population to join. They should know what the initials USSR stand for, what the names of the republics are, and where they are on the map. They ought to be able to compare Soviet federalism with American. They should be acquainted with the main features of Soviet political life: the Constitution, election procedures, and the like. There ought to be discussion of the rights of the Soviet citizen in law and practice.

"(10) Soviet society today should be studied under several different aspects. The nationalities question needs explaining. So do Church-state relations. The question of the classless society in theory and Soviet practices should be raised. Groups such as the bureaucracy, the military, party members, the managerial class, workers, intellectuals, peasants, etc. need to be defined and described. The machinery of conformism should be described so that American students do not get the idea that the only thing which holds the Soviet Union together is naked terror. It would be good to realize that the Soviet Union is full of people who accept (and even approve of) their way of life, whose dissatisfaction may consist of nothing more than the desire for a better job, larger living quarters, more leisure, some recognition or status, and a happy family life."

Something Better than "Keep All Happy"

An interesting report on a full-year course for seniors, *An Introduction in Russian Civilization*, comes from the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional School District in Sudbury, Mass. The superintendent of schools, C. Newton Heath, writes: "The proposal that our high school youth should have a sound factual knowledge of Russia and communism originated with Dr. Leslie M. Tourville, Principal of the Lincoln-Sudbury Regional High School. After four years of experimentation with an average of sixty high school seniors each year, we feel we have reached the stage of overcoming the problems involved in the teaching of Russian studies on the high school level. The insights we have gained over the past four years cause great concern on our part when we read of some approaches now being recommended. We feel that none of these schools really wishes to indoctrinate students nor to transform high school students into communists, but it appears as if the dilemma involved is not seen by those who are now planning curriculum revisions.

"Our attempt has been to develop courses entitled 'An Introduction in Russian Civilization' in which communism is viewed as one facet of the Russian story, and the student is guided in a study of communism placed in its proper historical development. Other facets of Russian civilization dealt with in our courses are Russian historiography, literature, art, music, religion, and philosophy. The aim of the course is to permit the student to become aware of available sources of information and of the problems involved in the areas of Russian studies. Introduced to Russian civilization in this way, the student is less likely to succumb to simple, generalized views of the major issues with which he will be involved during his lifetime. He should be better prepared to make use of intelligence and avoid emotion in dealing with the issues."

Mr. Heath warns of the neat, "keep all happy" stand which many schools may be tempted or feel compelled to take on this matter. He is supported by the chairman of his history department, Paul Mitchell, who teaches the *Introduction in Russian Civilization* course. Mr. Mitchell writes of his experiments with study about communism in his own classroom:

"I started the first year with an anti-communism, single-text, indoctrination-type course. This produced a reality that I could not live with. Nor did my students accept it. This approach forced me to face the following realities:

1. A lack of historical, philosophical, and economic background on the part of the students

2. A lack of background on my part in many aspects of Russian studies
3. This question: am I teaching communism or indoctrinating against communism? Neither results in anything that has a place in an American high school
4. Requests from my students to explain the difference between their indoctrination and the indoctrination employed by the Soviets
5. The problem of how to cope with the abundance of contradictory articles by the Russian Experts that appear each day in the press
6. The need to build a library of useful and valuable titles on the subject."

Mr. Mitchell's steps from what he found to be "an impossible situation" led to the development of the course in Russian civilization and to a stress on historiography, emphasizing the many schools and approaches of writers on Russia and communism. Mr. Mitchell started a three-year personal study of Russian history, then studied for a year at the University of Chicago, travelled twice to the Soviet Union by auto and sleeping bag to cover 17,000 miles, collecting slides, impressions, experiences with people and places.

The resulting course's lectures, activities and readings are designed, he says, "not primarily to unload information but rather to guide the students in their reading and study. At my request the classes are not homogeneously grouped. The facets contained in the course are so varied that sooner or later all find an interest, and to feed this interest they go back to or catch up on the material that may have not interested them at the time it was the order of the day." He has structured the course to permit students to focus their study on special projects and concerns and to gather around these interests a collection of facts, impressions and points of view. Thus there is a considerable opportunity for individual challenge and enterprise. Indication of this approach is clear in this statement which the students, about 60 seniors a year in two sections, receive with the course's topic outline:

"PREFACE TO INTRODUCTION IN RUSSIAN CIVILIZATION"

"This syllabus is for your use — its main function is to help you in matters of chronology and in the location of

some sources, the use of which I hope will draw you to find other sources. No one expects you to do all the reading you find listed here. The answer to your question — "How much of what?" — is dictated by your reality as a student, your interest, why you are taking the course and by what you intend to obtain from the course. With each student the answer differs.

"Your reading and study outside of class may or may not coincide with what I am doing in class. I would suggest that you make use of contributions indexed under the heading of *Special Topics* as nothing more than clarification, added insights and/or additional facts and information to supplement *your reading and study*. Only if used in this way can any value be obtained from anything that is offered you in class. Never are you to view class time as time spent gathering 'items' to be "saved" in your note book for later transformation by memorization into things called 'answers.' This takes for granted a clear view of the premise on which this course exists — i.e., a joint effort in which I see and meet my responsibilities from my side of the desk and in which you see and meet your responsibilities from your side of the desk. I read and study while I am not with you in class, you read and study while you are not with me in class — at no time does our interest and time spent on things Russian and Soviet start and end with a bell each day. This lack of dictation by bells I take for granted and so tests and quizzes will be few and note this well if your past reality in courses has been primarily 'grade seeking.' In this course permit your reality to be dictated by the above premise and the grade you have in past courses been 'out to get' will be a by-product of your interest and your attempt to identify yourself with the subject matter of the course."

(The detailed outline, with topics, readings, special suggested projects for extended individual study, is available from Mr. Mitchell at the Lincoln-Sudbury High School, Sudbury, Mass.)

A Different Course, with Emphasis on Literature

Phillips Exeter Academy, in Exeter, New Hampshire, offers a course in History of Modern Russia in which students read a good many Russian short stories, novels and poems against a historical background. The course emphasizes the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the study of Soviet thought and institutions constitutes about a third of the material covered.

Each student has in his possession these texts: Hargrave's *Russia*,

a History, 4th Edition, Kamen's (editor) *Great Russian Stories*, Kohn's *Mind of Modern Russia*, Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago* (now in paperback), Dudintzev's *Not By Bread Alone*. In addition, the following are used extensively, along with the standard historical atlases edited by Shepherd and Hammond: Dudintzev's story, "A Fable," in *The Reporter*, May, 1960, Fainsod's *How Russia is Ruled*, Fedotov's *The Russian Religious Mind*, Guerney's (editor) *The Portable Russian Reader*, and Reshetars' *Concise History of the Communist Party*.

In addition to *Doctor Zhivago* and *Not By Bread Alone*, some key literary works studied in relation to the history of the period are: Pushin's "The Shot" and "Queen of Spades," Gogol's "The Overcoat," Turgenev's "The Singers" and "Specters," Lescov's "Slight Error," Saltykov's "Muzhik and Two Brass Hats," Dostoievski's "The Crocodile," "Dream of a Ridiculous Man," "The Grand Inquisitor" sequence from *The Brothers Karamazov*, Tolstoi's "Death of Ivan Ilyich," and "Three Deaths," Gorki's "On Tolstoy," Chekov's "The Kiss," "Vanka," and "Two Letters," Garshin's "Four Days," Andreyev's "Lazarus," and "Ben Tobit," Gorki's "26 Men and a Girl," and, in the Soviet period, Kataev's "Rhodion Zhukov," Blok's "The Twelve," and "The Scythians," Mayakovsky's "Three Poems," A. N. Tolstoi's "Amid the Snows," Ilf's and Petrov's "Soviet Robinson Crusoe," Zamiatin's "We." All these are readily available in *Great Russian Stories* and the *Portable Russian Reader*, listed above.

"How Not to be Buried Under Dialectics"

A different approach to "Russia in the Classroom" is described in a speech to teachers by Leonard F. James, Chairman of the Department of History, Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. "I rather doubt that a really effective course on Russia and communism can be based on a text or two," Mr. James said. "One reason is that the course should, I suggest, be neither a history of Russia nor a simple study of communism as a theory — in a vacuum, as a so-called intellectual project."¹

He urged that the study of communism as it developed in Russia must recognize communism as a dynamic faith, and not simply bog down in the verbal complexities of communist phraseology. Verbally bright students may enjoy manipulating terms and concepts which may give them the illusion of understanding meanings which they do not

¹Leonard F. James, "Russia in the Classroom: How Not to be Buried Under Dialectics," *The New England Social Studies Bulletin*, April, 1962.

know and which need sharp clarification. Mr. James suggests these introductory readings for teachers and students beginning a new exploration of communism in historical context:

"If you'd like a clear presentation of Marxian ideas, brief and readable, I recommend a paperback by R. L. Heilbroner, *The Worldly Philosophers*, and in it the chapter entitled 'The Inexorable World of Karl Marx.'

"I'd be tempted to start the course with H. & B. Overstreet's 50-cent paperback, *What We Should Know About Communism*. . . . The book is good — it is not hysterical; it has background chapters on Marx, the Russian Revolution, Lenin and his successors. It points out target groups for Communist propaganda, and does an effective job of exposing the imperialistic-colonial expansion of Russia since 1940.

"The course can be made more dynamic by using another 50-cent paperback, *The God That Failed*, a collection of articles by six writers, some decided intellectuals, who either supported the communist doctrines or joined the party. It shows their reasons for accepting communism, and explains why, in great disillusionment, they finally broke away. This kind of reading puts the attractions and the hidden poisons of communism into human terms that young people can grasp and reflect on.

"I'd further suggest an interesting article that you may have read in the *Saturday Evening Post*, "Words That Divide the World," now included in the second volume of a collection entitled *Adventures of the Mind*. Take some of the words discussed there and find out what your students think they mean, and discuss the author's definitions . . .

"I'd certainly bring to class and find time to read excerpts from two women writers, Angela Calomiris in *Red Masquerade* and Bella Dodd in *School of Darkness*. For a change of pace I'd give them two chapters from Winston Churchill's *Second World War*. In volume four, *The Hinge of Fate*, I'd read to them the account of convoy P.Q. 17, and see what kind of thanks the British got for making those murderous convoy runs to Murmansk. Then I'd read the account of the siege of Warsaw in 1944, from Churchill's fifth volume, *Triumph and Tragedy*, the chapter entitled 'The Martyrdom of Warsaw,' telling of the brutal betrayal of the Poles by Russia, after the Poles had been encouraged by Moscow to revolt against German occupation because Russian help was only a few miles away.

"A good foil for discussion is an excerpting of de Custine's *Journey for Our Time*, written in 1839. Change a name here and there and you might be reading of Russia today. And your students might sense that

latter-day Russian imperialism is only long-standing Russian expansionism made far more dynamic through the techniques of communism.

"I'd also try to get in an examination of the Berlin crisis of 1948. This gives meaning to the present Berlin crisis. You can find it discussed in various texts, but I have found *My Three Years in Moscow* by Walter Bedell Smith, our ambassador to Russia, 1946-1949, an excellent detailed source of information. Smith went out to Russia with what he calls an open mind. He came back convinced that we are dealing with an implacable opponent . . .

"There is a further area of discussion that your students would find interesting, and it might make them start to wonder where they are going themselves. This is the clever and frightening technique of 'brain-washing.' I would suggest that you get a copy of *In Every War But One*, by Eugen Kinkead, a *New Yorker* editor, who, with permission from the Defense Department, reported on the intensive five-year study by the Army of the effects of communist indoctrination of prisoners-of-war in Korea.

". . . If you can use only part of material such as this, I guarantee that you will arouse interest and argument, and you will have accomplished what you set out to do: to widen your students' horizons and to make them think."

CHAPTER IV

"IT SHOULD BE PART OF A GOOD HISTORY COURSE!"

Study of communist societies in their historical perspective — a school's change in its history curriculum — communism as an interweaving theme in three schools' social studies programs: ideas, approaches, and readings

"I believe that the philosophical, economic and political ideas and consequences of communism must and should be a part of the course of study of history and economics. I believe that a course in 'anti-communism' is by virtue of its negative framework, destined to complete and utter failure." Thus writes the chairman of the history department, Frederick E. Bauer, Jr., of Mt. Hermon School, Mt. Hermon, Mass. This school's program in history attempts to come to grips with the substance of communism in a number of ways. "The curriculum," Mr. Bauer writes, "is not geared to teach anti-communism as a subject or treat communism as a disease. Instead, a positive attempt is made to place the communist societies in their historical perspective and to demonstrate the social, economic and political forces within nations that breed communism. Fundamentally, the communist society is here treated as a negation of individual freedom for collective ends."

At present, Mt. Hermon's ninth and tenth grade courses focus on elements of Western Civilization which are derived from Greece and Rome, and on the history of early Europe through the Renaissance and Reformation. The school is considering a change to a ninth grade course offering one half-year's study in comparative economics, using the United States and Russia as models, and a second half-year's study of comparative government, using the same models. The tenth grade course would become a half-year's study "in the origins of Western Civilization, which will extract the concepts of democracy, law, the republic, empire, and institutions such as the church, which have been fundamental to the Western tradition." The second half-year would focus on the society, culture, geography and history of India, China, and Japan.

The eleventh grade course in U.S. history "is developed along five major themes in the first semester: the meaning of revolution, the concept of constitutional government, the political and economic philosophy of Hamilton and Jefferson, the development of popular democracy and Jackson, the causes and consequences of the Civil War. These five themes are structured to show how each contributed to the development of a nation. In the second semester, the emphasis shifts to the changes which have taken place in the nation since the Civil War. The first change is, of course, the change from a rural, agrarian society to an urban, industrial society. This is approached from the point of view of the social, economic, and political changes which were proposed by the reform movements: the Liberal Republicans, the Populists, the Progressives, and the New Deal. The second major change is the change from a relatively neutral and isolated nation to a leader in world power. This change is demonstrated by returning to the Revolutionary period and showing how the struggle from 1776 to 1823 was a continuous struggle for independence. Then the long period of Manifest Destiny is examined as a case of external expansion, related to but not the same as European imperialism. Next the period of Imperialism is examined, followed by the entrance of America into European struggles. The failure of Versailles is highlighted as the beginning of another period of withdrawal, different from any others. This is terminated by the entrance of the U. S. into the Atlantic Charter and finally into the war, and the subsequent struggle to maintain world peace and security." Among the objectives of this course is the presentation of concepts, ideas and information which allow an intelligent exploration and comparison of the United States' experience and philosophy with those of certain communist societies. The study of communism as a competing world force and as an economic system is an integral part of the course. Mr. Bauer emphasizes that the program is "seeking a positive approach to the United States' history which permits, even demands, a recognition and understanding of the changes in economic and political life resulting from the industrialization of a society. We do not shy away from the economic interpretation of history. We develop it, posing it as one of many approaches to history. There is also a good deal of attention in the course to the growth of totalitarianism in Europe as a twentieth century phenomenon, including study of the similarities in practice, if not theory, of fascism, nazism, and communism in twentieth century Italy, Germany, Russia and China."

All three of the Mt. Hermon school senior electives in history and social science include a study of communist societies. Included in the course in Modern European History is a unit on industrialism, and spe-

cial use is made of the text by Palmer and Colton, *A History of the Modern World*, and of the Heath Problems volumes including "Industrial Revolution in England" by J. P. Taylor. Mr. Bauer writes: "We attempt to analyze the causes and consequences of industrialism on production, social classes, urbanization, demography, and political thought. Following this, there is a study of the economic theories of classical economic liberalism (Smith, Malthus, and Ricardo), utopianism (Fourier, Owen, Saint Simon), welfare state (Mill), and Marxist socialism (Marx and Engels). We use Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers* as well as *The Communist Manifesto* and various selections from Sydney Hook's *Marx and the Marxists*, and John Stuart Mill's essay 'On Liberty.' A unit follows on Russia from 1825, using the Palmer and Colton text and Pares' *Russia*. Additional selections are made from Sydney Hook's work on Lenin and Stalin as well as Shub's *Lenin*. An attempt is made to analyze industrialism, the causes for the birth and growth of Marxism, the Marxist ideology and the revisionists, Russian socialist and revolutionary thought, the Lenin, Trotsky, and Stalin revision of Marxism to adapt the ideology to Russian nationalism, and the issue of the importance of Russia's historical character and policies as opposed to the ideology of Marxist-Leninism."

The senior year elective in Asian Studies not only covers India, Japan, and the Republic of China, but also introduces a study of the rise and development of the communist society in China. Materials for study include the December 1959 *Atlantic* on Red China; *Red China, an Asian View* by Sripati Chandu-Sekhar; the *Changing Society of China* by C. H'u Chai and Winberg Chai; and the *U.S. Foreign Policy: Compilation of Studies in Relationship to China*, State Department Document #24, 1961.

The elective in economics gets into the basic philosophy of communism, the challenge and growth of the communist system, and some examination of life in communist countries. Readings include: *The Communist Manifesto* and selections from *Das Kapital*; Campbell's *Soviet Economic Power*, the *Saturday Review*'s January 1961 issue on "The Soviet Economic System" and Orwell's *Animal Farm*.

Continuing, Interweaving Themes

Tempting programs are appearing around the country in schools and communities as "units on communism," "units on Russia," etc., and some of these can make sense in gathering together certain information and points of view to give students a sharp focus on the subject

in a short time. There can however be the same difficulty with "the unit" that there can be with the separate course on communism: that the crucial matter of when, where, how and why, the setting for the subject, is either ignored or presented in pre-digested summaries.

A look at the course outline for Modern European History at Phillips Exeter Academy, for example, shows how much of the experience of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries studied relates to the matter of communism. To isolate certain days' or weeks' activities which may deal directly with Marxism, say, or with revolutionary movements, would cut off these activities from the crucial events and ideas which produced them.

The course's special emphasis is laid on revolutionary movements in the field of ideas, as well as in politics and economics. It is designed for seniors and some especially well qualified juniors.

These books comprise the basic reading for the course: the main text is Palmer and Colton's *A History of the Modern World*, and the others are rented to students: Mendenhall et al, *Selected Problems in Historical Interpretation, Vol. II: The Quest for a Principle of Authority in Europe*, Schapiro's *Modern and Contemporary European History*, Black and Helmreich's *Twentieth Century Europe*, Hammond's *Historical Atlas*, Wilson's *To the Finland Station*, Becker's *Modern History*, Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers*, Ausubel's *The Making of Modern Europe, Book II*, Seaman's *From Vienna to Versailles*, Ferguson and Braun's *A Survey of European Civilization, Vol. II*. On reserve in the library for further study are Hayes' *Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. I*, Scott and Salomene, *Readings in Twentieth Century History*, Shepherd's *Historical Atlas*, Walsh's *Readings in Russian History*.

The program begins with certain roots of our experience in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages. A review of and some new perspectives on these topics lead to a study of the origins of modern science:

- the Decline of the Church; the Renaissance; the New Monarchies
- Protestantism; Catholicism Reformed and Reorganized
- the Opening of the Atlantic; the Crusade of Catholic Spain
- the Disintegration and Reconstruction of France; the Thirty Years War, 1618-48

Reading, classroom discussion and writing on the origins of modern science then lead into such questions as, "In what ways was the new science revolutionary? How did Newton's discoveries enhance man's notion of himself? Is a science of man possible? Is it more possible today than in the late seventeenth century?"

Readings in eighteenth century political philosophers precede a close study of the French Revolution. Notice the interweaving of themes in these descriptions of the day-to-day progress of this part of the course, and notice too the relevance of these themes to twentieth century experience:

1. France Under Louis XIV: In what ways and by what means did Louis attempt to establish and extend royal power? How did he deal with different opposing forces? How far was his foreign policy successful?
2. The old Regime in France: social classes, privileges, governmental power and abuses, forces for change.
3. The Eve of Revolution: What were the effects of the American Revolution in Europe, especially in France? Trace the steps from the accession of Louis XVI to calling of the Estates General. Why was the Declaration of Independence effective political propaganda in France? On what grounds did Sieyès demand that the Third Estate "become something?"
4. The National Assembly (1789-91): What were the major actions of the Assembly? Were they in general constructive or destructive? Questions on documents: In what ways did the French revolutionary leaders reveal their bourgeois concern with property rights and their lack of sympathy for the workers? What were the purposes of the new educational system?
5. The English Bill of Rights, the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, the American Bill of Rights (First Ten Amendments to the Constitution): How far are these documents similar? How far are they different? It will help if you first think of the differences and similarities in the intentions of the framers of the documents.
6. The Attempt at Constitutional Monarchy: Why did constitutional monarchy fail? Compare the selections from the Constitution of 1791 and the French provisions for local government with the U. S. Constitutional system in as many ways as you can, such as: rights of citizenship, popular control of the central government, protection of property, organization of the legislature, the executive, the courts, nationalism and localism, limitations on governmental power.

Well before direct study of the Bolshevik revolution, the students

do considerable reading on Marxian methods, argument and prophesies. Such study provides one part of the background against which students see the unification of Italy and Germany, the major social and industrial changes in England of the late 19th century. There follow explorations of British socialism in the 19th century, of the impact and implications of Darwinism, and of the developing of various expressions and interpretations of liberalism, socialism and imperialism, always with close attention to *which kind and where and at what time*.

In such a program a student does not arrive at the Bolshevik revolution in April of his senior year and suddenly get a unit on communism. The ideas and themes selected in the course for special emphasis are developed and interwoven in such a way as to give him some sense of a world setting for the opportunities, challenges and terrors of the present which he finds so readily described and digested in the day's headlines and editorials.

Another Emphasis

At Blair Academy, Blairstown, New Jersey, William A. Nesbitt joins in urging that communism "in all its varieties is best taught in the context of a good course in history, preferably modern European history." His own course's study of the Industrial Revolution begins with readings in *The Worldly Philosophers* on the economic revolution and on Adam Smith. Then the focus centers on the Utopian Socialists in the setting of appalling industrial conditions in the age of Metternich. At this point the students do their first reading of and about Marx. The course gives a good deal of attention to the schisms in socialist thought and practice during the period after 1848, and of the subsequent kinds of revisionism. "I think this is vital," Mr. Nesbitt writes, "so that the student will not make the grave error of lumping all socialism and communism together as one hears and sees done all too often."

As background for the Russian Revolution, Mr. Nesbitt emphasizes the varieties of socialist thought in the context of Russia's economic and political development. He considers W. B. Walsh's book, *Russia and the Soviet Union* useful in developing the background of the revolution, and students study source materials in Eugene Weber's *From The Renaissance to the Atomic Age: Readings in European History* (paperback) and readings in Mendenhall, *et al*, *Selected Problems in Historical Interpretation, Vol. II: The Quest for a Principle of Authority in Europe* to get an idea of Lenin's concept of the party and methods as compared with those of his opponents.

In 1961-1962, the Blair Academy's course went considerably into the way the Bolsheviks managed to take over the revolution. The class used the Robert H. McNeal "problems pamphlet," "The Russian Revolution: Why Did the Bolsheviks Win?", *Problems in World Civilization*. The teacher found this material quite difficult going with able students, and suggests Alan Moorehead's *The Russian Revolution* (paperback) as a possible substitute. Other major readings in the course which pertain to the history of communism include: Maxim Gorki's *Mother*, R. R. Palmer and J. Colton's *A History of the Modern World*, Ivan Turgenev's *Fathers and Sons* (paperback), F. Baumer's *Main Currents of Western Thought* (source readings), Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace's *Russia on the Eve of War and Revolution* (paperback), new edition, 1961, one of the Viking Russian Series, and George F. Kennan's *Russia and the West Under Lenin and Stalin*.

The teacher makes these additional recommendations of the useful readings and offers a final plea for the importance of this subject: "It is crucial that the student has some clear idea of post-World War II changes in Russia as well as Sino-Soviet relations. Perhaps the best single and inexpensive work on the whole period since 1917 is Alfred G. Meyer's *Communism*. He points out that Khrushchev has come to recognize 'different roads' toward socialism. So many teachers, I suspect, teach communism as if nothing had changed in practice since the 1930's, which is not only wrong but dangerous.

"In conclusion, I can offer nothing better than to have the teacher and those in the legislature concerned with teaching about communism read two pamphlets in the Service Center for Teachers of History series: 'Russia Since 1917' by George Barr Carson, Jr. (publication number 46) and 'Marxism Since the Communist Manifesto' by Alfred G. Meyer (publication number 41). They are not light reading, but these men are specialists and can help to steer the teacher between the Scylla and Charybdis of seeing Communism as nine-feet tall or three feet tall. As Bruce McClellan, Headmaster of the Lawrenceville School, put it recently, 'ignorance begets fear and fear begets folly.' Perhaps I am saying that the teaching of communism as it really was and is has such significance that our very survival may ultimately depend upon it."

CHAPTER V

THE STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE

Students' suspicion of the adult "line" — challenge to free, independent exploration — the school's control over the appropriateness of materials — the danger of the "avoid trouble" approach — a teacher and his history class in action — a student-requested discussion group on the history of communism — students talk about the study of history

It is a long way from the teacher who says, "Give them The Word now and they can fill in the complexities when they're older," to the teacher who says, "Challenge them to explore, weigh and judge independently." It is likely that teachers leaning toward either of these views have their share of problems if they are at all perceptive about what is happening in their students' minds as their courses progress. A number of teachers have described their students' wariness of anything that struck them as propagandistic, of any effort to present an adult line, left, center or right or anywhere in between. Some teachers have spoken of students' bristling at what they called the "transparent propaganda" of one of the currently most-used democracy-vs.-communism texts. Teachers have been both pleased and disappointed in this reaction. They were pleased because the students seemed to want to seek data and do some judging on their own. They were disappointed because the teachers themselves were trying not to indoctrinate, but simply to use the book's material as one basis for study and discussion. As shown earlier in this report, some teachers have found it far more effective to bring in a variety of materials, written from many points of view, sometimes even highly slanted in various directions, and consider them with their classes.

What Students Can Handle

There is a problem on the other side, when students are enjoying the idea of free and independent exploration without actually doing any. A feeling that everything teachers or writers offer on controversial sub-

jects is slanted or pre-digested or is "just his opinion" could lead to independent and potentially creative searching. It could also be simply an excuse to reject everything "coming in," a lazy kind of juvenile iconoclasm which leads nowhere but into negativism and cynicism. Harold Howe II, Superintendent of Schools in Scarsdale, New York, writes: "I think students need a certain amount of personal, intellectual, and emotional maturity to handle abstract, philosophical ideas sensibly. If introduced to such ideas when they are not ready to receive them, they are likely to have either highly superficial reactions or to take shelter in over-simplified generalization. Either course is unconstructive. Sometimes youngsters can be damaged by powerful arguments with which they are unable to contend, damaged in the sense that they fail to understand these and reject them on a superficial basis, or damaged in the opposite sense that they fall for them hook, line, and sinker. These are the reasons I feel there is a need for bringing philosophical considerations into the teaching of history only after a reasonable factual background and a reasonable degree of maturity are present to deal with them."

Dr. Howe spoke about this matter further, in connection with the preparation of this report: "The school has to control this business of what the students can manage emotionally and intellectually. This might sound like a kind of censorship, though not in the bad sense in which we use the word. Note the confusion between this kind of control and the irresponsible 'censorship' which says, 'Avoid trouble — watch out for those ideas — stay away from that book — don't get into that point of view.'" This is an important distinction, and it is easily missed in theorizing as well as in teaching.

The "Tone" of the Classroom

Then too there is the temptation of some teachers to debunk, to encourage students to a kind of balloon-puncturing, idol-breaking approach. A teacher could easily delude himself that this approach was really intellectually penetrating and "cut through the cant and nonsense." Such an approach has the attraction of a kind of pseudo-sophistication about it, a we-know-better glow which allows the students to style themselves as intellectual beatniks. Surely we can do better than this in our teaching.

The point about the school's concern for what students can manage emotionally and intellectually, and the point about resisting a debunking, mocking approach which passes for penetration and objectivity, lead to

the question, "How does a teacher know what is appropriate, and how can he help develop a *tone* of inquiry which falls neither into indoctrination nor into intellectual beatnik-ism?" This question is best "answered" by the example of good teaching, and one is presented in this chapter. But first there might well be a final reminder to teachers not to delude themselves that their students are *less* mature and capable than in fact they really are. A teacher could use the idea that "they couldn't handle this subject" simply as an excuse to avoid trouble or controversy, to keep out a speaker or a book, an opinion or idea, which in reality could offer an intelligent and manageable challenge to the thought and exploration of his students.

Controversy in History: A Group of Students in Action

I had been watching a group of seniors at the John Burroughs School in St. Louis, Missouri, in a number of their discussions in and out of their class in United States history. Their teacher, Stephen Hinrichs, had told me about a weekly discussion group on communism which had developed on Tuesday mornings, first period, with sixteen of his students attending regularly. "The students had encountered a good deal about communism in their history courses here," Mr. Hinrichs told me, "but they wanted to know more, to hear and talk about the subject. I agreed to start the discussion sessions, and we found a time that would be free for most of them. Anybody could come. Some tenth graders were interested, though it was mainly seniors who were pushing for this. My only stipulation was an agreement that we would make clear what the topic for the next week would be before the current week's session ended. That way we wouldn't be starting in each session in an ambling, what-shall-we-talk-about way. I said also that I would do some major blocking out of the subject in some of these sessions and that they would do some reading."

The group had been meeting a number of weeks when I visited the school. The sixteen students around the table were lively and quick to challenge each other. They were more argumentative, sometimes more hilarious, sometimes more opinionated, than I had seen some of them to be in their United States history discussions. The period was extraordinarily interesting. There was plenty of variety in the opinions around the table. One boy had a good many extreme-right-wing pamphlets before him and he quoted enthusiastically from these or others he had read at home. One girl was very defensive about labor unions, another kept quoting from F.B.I. reports and articles. Two boys were

vehemently redefining "liberal" in more and more glowing terms, in defense against another girl's sneering use of the word. Passionate Republicans and Democrats, some by absorption, some by automatic resistance, were clearly present. Each one who spoke had the experience of being pushed back to defend his statement not just with vehemence (there was plenty of that), but with evidence, if they could find some. Yet they managed to keep reasonably coolheaded as they discussed views of the House Un-American Activities Committee, labor unions (and quickly, *which* labor unions), legal approaches to the American Communist party, the Smith Act, the role of schools in teaching about communism.

The Teacher's Role

The teacher interrupted now and then when an extreme statement on any side was left unchallenged, which it rarely was. Three different times he demanded and got a respectful hearing-out of a student who was making an extreme statement into a howl of outraged disagreement. He inserted a few comments on matters of fact or on where to look for information,¹ and he raised a few evidently distressing questions about which none of the students had yet enough information. His "style" seemed to make clear the distinction between demolishing students, which he did not do, and challenging them to find out more and think more carefully. These brief "entrances" on the part of the teacher were few and quiet. The students neither quailed nor were quelled. But they did go ahead and try to do better.

The Teacher and the Visitor "Play Back" The Discussion

Mr. Hinrichs was a good deal less impressed with the session than I was. He was disappointed at what seemed to him the wildness of some of the statements, the looseness about evidence, the occasional inclination to howl down an unpopular view. It seemed to me that the per-

¹The three volumes thus far released of the *Communism in American Life* series were on the table, and a number of students had evidently been using them as well as a shelf of books for this special group. The three volumes are of special interest, and are studies of communist influences in American life, made under the auspices of the Fund for the Republic and edited by Clinton Rossiter. They are:

- (1) Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism*. New York, Viking, 1957.
- (2) Robert W. Iversen, *The Communists and the Schools*. New York, Viking, 1959.
- (3) David A. Shannon, *The Decline of American Communism*. New York, Viking, 1959.

formance here was impressive in that this voluntary discussion was clearly already something to be taken more seriously than a noisy exchange of incantations. The students, with some very evident signs of patience, listened to each other and often actually responded to what they had heard, not to what they thought an antagonist *might* say. They were sheepish when their evidence was flimsy and not, it seemed to me, because the teacher was sitting silently at the table, but because they knew often even before they were challenged that they needed a better basis for what was coming from their head-tops. And, of particular interest, they seemed intelligently observant of facts in and out of context. "Per-cent of what?" "In relation to what?" "Whose figures?" "Why that selection?" "How many?" "Compared to what?" Alert to unsupported and emotional assertions, they seemed also wary of the unexplained, un-set fact when it was offered as a ringing and supposedly objective offense or defense. Surely these signs are encouraging. How many adult social discussions of such matters show as many encouraging signs?

"We Get Reasons, Not Just Facts."

After observing two United States history classes and this special discussion which included many of the same students, I had a chance to talk with a group of twenty-two students for a period. Fragments of the resulting discussion are included here, though not because they bear directly on teaching about communism or about democracy. Most of them do not. These students' comments do indicate something of the impact of history teaching which challenges students to think, to explore, and to care.

The teacher left me alone with the students, and I asked this question: "What would you say have been some of the points of contact between experience in history courses here and your own outlook, your own vision of the world?" This seemed general enough not to slant the discussion any special way, and yet it asked for definite things in their own experience in the study of history. There was no hesitating. One boy began: "I'm getting a lot out of this year's course — we get reasons, not just facts." Here are some comments and responses to other comments which suggested to me that something was going on in this study of history which enlisted the students in an enterprise which they respected, which they found challenging to their own definitions and uses of intellectual freedom.

"I get a kick out of comparing some of the things I'm learning about to what my parents think about — things that happened in their lifetime — like Coolidge or F.D.R. The things we see are a lot different from what they saw. This year I certainly have something to take home to the dinner table. It gets pretty lively!"

"I've always been interested in current events although I haven't always understood what I was reading. This year we studied a lot about the U.S. and tariffs and it's made it a lot easier for me to understand things like the common market. I can make better judgments now."

"It's interesting to study about reforms — we take them for granted now and don't think about them — but we studied how at the time people thought they were terrible — things like labor unions and child labor legislation. It's so interesting to see how the changes come, and how people feel about them at the time."

"We had what some people call a kindergarten economics course in the middle of all this. I got a lot out of it. We looked at the big words like communism, fascism, capitalism, imperialism, socialism — and we went a lot beyond the words, or *into* them. It makes a big difference to understand even a little instead of just hearing and saying the big words."

"Yes, and a lot of times people talk about those things in a sort of jargon-y way. When we studied the operation of some corporations and so on, it helped us to define and explain some of the big terms. It also helped us to puncture the jargon-y people."

Two interesting comments followed each other on the subject of discovering the good and the bad in the experience and performance of the United States as a nation. One girl said:

"In this course I've had a chance to see some good things and some bad things the United States has done. This surprised me at first — I guess I always used to think of the U. S. as the All American Boy nation. The new angle was pretty illuminating. Yet it wasn't just discovering our country had made mistakes. It was the way we've faced up to some of them, or not faced up to others — the idea of a continuing, improving effort."

One of the boys was not satisfied with this, and added:

"I always used to think of history as those faces on the wall — Washington, Lincoln, and so on, but when you study U. S. history — really get into it some the way we have — you understand — well, *why* those pictures are on the wall!"

On the kind of classroom exploration and discussion in the course (including the more extreme version of it in the voluntary discussion group), these observations seemed to me worth sharing with other teachers and school-minded people now debating what kinds of teaching of controversial matters are desirable:

"In the discussions we have we learn an awful lot from each other — and we also learn an awful lot *about* each other. People reveal plenty about themselves when they get into these discussions, about their outlook or about the things they are sensitive to or not sensitive to."

"Yes, we get into things where people will make the wildest statements, at least sometimes it's pretty horrifying. Like on Hiroshima last week, someone said dropping the bomb was a humane gesture, and someone else said we should have thrown 15 of those bombs at them."

"These uninhibited discussions like the one you saw this morning make it possible to present a trial balloon. You don't have to have thought the thing through and worked out a whole philosophy of life before you say something."

"In these discussions the teacher usually doesn't show what his own view is but he sure backs you up and makes you defend your own so you have to be ready to defend your own before you say anything. If he doesn't cut you down, somebody else in the class will."

A Student's Own Search

When I asked about things they had read or done in the course that had made a special impact on their thinking, a few students mentioned some current books (*The Making of the President* by T. H. White, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* by William L. Shirer) before they suddenly plunged into their own papers and projects. They spent the rest of the time talking about these short papers, reports, term papers. "You get to become a minor expert in your topic," one said. Another joined in, "You get to approach some real understanding about something." They agreed on the idea one boy put forward: "You get to do something that's *your own*." I saw a list of over two hundred possible topics for major papers, though more than half of these students had developed topics somewhat different than those stated on the list. There was so much enthusiasm for *the experience of doing these papers* that I asked what things they thought would be gained and what things lost by a course consisting only of a series of individual projects. They

spoke rather dutifully about losing a sense of chronology, about "losing the feeling of what the whole thing was about." Yet they quickly returned to the excitement of discovery and penetration they had found in doing these projects, of "something that's your own."

These observations of a visitor are not meant to show how an ideal history course strikes the students in it. They do show certain significant signs of enterprise, enthusiasm and self-development stemming from an approach to the study of history and to the study of controversy in history which seemed to respect and challenge students intellectually. The Tuesday morning discussion group emerged from this approach, as did the signs of conscience and care displayed in it and in the regular class discussions. A fragment of the discussion I had with the students is indicative of their questioning and their exploring of the quality of their experience in the course:

"The trouble is, though, that everybody feels that he has to 'say something.' Sometimes when a person hasn't anything special to say he'll just heave out something for the sake of saying something. This doesn't necessarily say that his contribution is 'mature.'"

"I think this kind of approach demands a lot of maturity from the kids. And it *gets* it. When you're really supposed to have an idea about something, you really feel it's up to you to think through what you're going to say or write about, and really make a contribution. You can't just heave in any old thing and you can't just give back some facts."

CHAPTER VI

ST. LOUIS' EDUCATORS IN ACTION

Community intensities inflamed — attacks on teachers — citizens' effort to enter the schools to teach "anti-communism" — the educators respond — a series of constructive steps in the schools and universities

St. Louis, like many U.S. communities, has had its share of community pressures for this or that intensity, idea or program that "must be gotten into the schools." Early in 1961, one of the travelling "anti-communism schools" swept into the area and raised a new clamor. One school head speaks now of "waves of hysterical women who descended on this school before the first day's 'anti-communism sessions' were even over." The main interest of the "waves" who swept down on some of the schools was to conduct "anti-communism classes" for the students inside the schools in the various school programs. One school head described later certain intense attacks on four of his teachers: "The attacks began to take a certain shape — it was usually the same four and I began to wonder what it was these teachers had in common. I decided these were the things: (1) they were hard markers, (2) they were strong disciplinarians in the classroom, and (3) they were generally considered rather independent in the school and community. These attacks were clearly a matter of personal grudges rationalized as something else — as actual anti-communism."

With sudden new charges against teachers, with renewed special attacks on subject matter for speeches, books, class discussions, and with demands from all around to have citizens enter schools to teach classes in "anti-communism" to students, the educators themselves had some very real challenges to action. They had been exploring, independently in many cases, the whole problem of teaching about communism and democracy, well before this newest "wave." But through the summer and fall of 1961 they met informally — school heads, teachers, superintendents from public and independent schools and colleges. They exchanged experiences, fears and hopes, and out of their meetings came a series of actions which seem well worth describing here.

These convictions were central to the discussions and the planning of that summer and fall: that a defensive, alarmist scurrying to resist a new wave of rabble-rousing tactics was *not* what was called for in the educational community; that the teaching in the schools was going to continue to be done by the schools' teachers; that planning of subject matter, preparing materials, and scheduling time was going to be done by school people; and that the educational community would re-examine its own approaches and programs dealing both with communism and democracy, and would seek to develop plans and materials which would be appropriate, sound, and professionally responsible.

About a year later, a guest editorial appearing in the May 12, 1962 issue of the *Saturday Review* gave a challenging and heartening account of what had been accomplished in St. Louis. The account began with this statement: "At least one good thing can be said for the present crop of Know-Nothings. Sometimes they wake the educators up." The editorial was written by Merrimon Cuninggim, Executive Director of the Danforth Foundation in St. Louis. He gave this setting for the St. Louis story: "In many a place across the land, schools and colleges have been under raucous attack — they use dangerous books, they examine alien ideas, they probably harbor communists. But every time a state legislature gets pushed into requiring its high schools to provide a course on communism, educators become alert to the invasion and determined to fend off the efforts of propagandists. Every time a vigilante spreads his — or her — suspicion in the P.T.A., the schoolmen respond, sometimes in fright, always in self-analysis, often in constructive action."

The writer of this editorial makes clear the two aspects of the problem for schools: there is what he calls "the imagined or under-the-bed threat of communism" and "the real threat." He explains: "School men have begun to realize that they are indeed vulnerable to the charge that their students have not been sufficiently informed about the nature of the communist ideology and the spread and power of its system. Even when a legislature has not invaded the schools' domain, the educators themselves have been eager to repair this deficiency in their programs. Solid instruction about communism, perhaps not in a separate course — at least not on the high school level — but certainly in the regular curriculum, is long overdue."

He then mentions a third important aspect of the problem, an aspect which is "the only affirmative one, and the most powerful. The chief reason that schools and colleges want to provide better instruction in civic understanding is not fear and distaste either of the far right or of the far left, but is the positive belief in the idea of America, the

meaning of freedom, the value of a democratic society. That students do not sufficiently understand and appreciate these is now everywhere recognized. The handwringing stage is passing fast; educators are hard at work in a number of ways — overcoming their embarrassment at the use of simplicities in language that the general public will applaud, re-tooling their courses of study, upgrading the teaching of democracy's meaning and its denials, and striking common cause."

The Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship

The Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship, an organized body which emerged from the discussions among school people, brings together this impressive collection of highly "independent" and autonomous groups: the public schools of the city of St. Louis, the public schools of St. Louis County, outside of the city itself, the Catholic parochial schools, the two Lutheran parochial schools, the private secondary schools, St. Louis University and Washington University. Representatives of each of these institutions or groups of schools compose the Council. In addition, The White House Conference of St. Louis and St. Louis County, the Bar Association of St. Louis and The Danforth Foundation have one representative each, free to participate actively in discussions, but without the right to vote.¹

The Council states its purpose as follows:

"To promote the understanding and appreciation of the American democratic form of government and manner of living, and to advance the factual teaching of other forms of government; to set forth the needs of the schools and colleges in this area and nationally in developing such an educational program, and to assist in such development; to develop a co-operative program among the institutions represented, in the projects that one or more of them may wish to sponsor, or projects the whole Council may wish to undertake; and to

¹ The officers of the Council are: Herbert W. Schooling, Chairman, Superintendent of Webster Groves Public Schools; Thomas H. Eliot, Vice-Chairman, Chancellor-Elect of Washington University; The Rev. Robert Henle, Secretary, Dean of the Graduate School of St. Louis University; Paul Lange, Treasurer, Superintendent of Lutheran High Schools; Ronald Beasley, Headmaster, Mary Institute; Milton Bierbaum, Superintendent, Maplewood-Richmond Heights Schools; The Very Rev. James T. Curtin, Superintendent of Schools for Archdiocese of St. Louis; Philip Hickey, Superintendent, St. Louis Public Schools; Francis V. Lloyd, Superintendent, School District of Clayton; Merrimon Cuninggim, Executive Director of The Danforth Foundation; Malcolm Martin, St. Louis Bar Association; Mrs. Ann Moller, White House Conference on Education. Address inquiries to Mr. R. M. Inbody, Executive Secretary, The Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship, 2030 S. Vandeventer St., St. Louis 10, Mo.

advance and coordinate development of such projects decided upon by the Board of Directors cooperatively or by the Board itself."

The Council's First Project

A lecture course on the Bill of Rights was presented for teachers for twelve consecutive weeks in the spring of 1962 and will be repeated. The course provided in-service and graduate degree credit, and focused on a practical understanding of the Bill of Rights, with emphasis on its application to contemporary problems. The course was sponsored by the St. Louis Bar Association in cooperation with St. Louis University and Washington University and the Council. The lectures for the first series (spring of 1962) were mimeographed, but are not available now, since they are being prepared for separate publication. These major topics comprised the course:

I. THE NATURE OF OUR DEMOCRATIC CIVIL ORDER

- A. The Basic Premise: the Free, Rational, Morally Responsible Individual
- B. Basic Institutions
- C. The role of the law

II. THE WAY LAW PROTECTS CIVIL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES

- A. The Structure of the American Legal System
 - 1. The Federal Bill of Rights
 - 2. State Bill of Rights
 - 3. Other Constitutional Rights
- B. The Limitations on the Legal Process
- C. Due Process of Law
 - 1. The rights to counsel, confrontation, and fair hearing
 - 2. Habeas Corpus
 - 3. Other procedural rights

III. THE CIVIL RIGHTS WHICH LAW PROTECTS

- A. The Right to Security of Person, Papers and Lodging
 - 1. The right against illegal search and seizure and the

- public interest in effective prevention of organized crime
- 2. The right not to be a witness against oneself and the public interest in preventing subversive activities
- 3. Privacy of the home
- 4. The right to security of person and mob violence
- B. The Right to Participate in Decisions Affecting the Civil Order
 - 1. The right to vote and the duty to cast an informed and honest ballot
 - 2. The right to form private associations and the right to participate in organizations which perform a public function — Political Parties
 - 3. The right to an equal voice in political decision — Redistricting
 - 4. The right to petition
- C. The Right to Freedom of Religion
 - 1. The right to religious freedom and the public interest in high educational standards — State supervision of parochial schools
 - 2. The separation of church and state and state aid to education — Transportation; Buildings; Books; Religious Instruction in Public Schools; Medical Care; Food Programs
 - 3. Religious freedom and required conformities — Flag salute
 - 4. Public Lands
- D. The Right to Know and to Communicate
 - 1. Freedom of speech in historical perspective
 - 2. The right to espouse political causes and the public interest in security.
 - a. Alien and Sedition Laws, and wartime measures
 - b. Direct Suppression or Restriction of subversive activities or groups — Smith Act; Internal Security Act of 1950; Communist Control Act of 1954
 - c. Indirect Suppression or Restriction
 - i. Denial of privileges or positions of influence to persons declared to be subversive — Affidavits; Passport restrictions; Restriction of aliens; Expatriation; Restrictions on teachers and others

- ii. Loyalty qualifications for employment — Attorney General's list; government loyalty programs
- 3. The right not to speak and the duty to disclose information about illegal activities — investigating committees
- 4. The Right to Communicate and Public Censorship
 - a. The right to publish and prior restraint
 - b. The right of artistic expression and the public interest in preventing obscenity
 - c. The right to communicate and public interest in the safe and orderly use of streets and parks
- E. The Right to Own Property and to Contract

IV. EQUAL PROTECTION OF RIGHTS

- A. The Right to Equal Education
- B. The Right to Equal Treatment in Housing, Transportation and Employment

V. THE MEANING OF FREEDOM UNDER LAW

- A. The Overview of the Prior Discussions
- B. Our Democratic System in Today's World

A Summer Program for 75 Top Eleventh Graders

In the summer of 1962 the Council launched a special program which became the American Freedom Summer Institute at Washington University in St. Louis. Forty girls and thirty-five boys from twenty states took part in this five-week venture, an intensive study of themes in American history and American values. The students had strong academic backgrounds and were plunged in a program which alternated lectures by the four university professors who developed the program and seminars for small groups of students, conducted by selected master teachers from the schools and two graduate assistants at the university. There was no lecture which did not have seminars immediately following. The Director of the Institute, Dr. Alex Runciman, writes that "the fact that the seminars raised more questions than were answered speaks well for the interaction of these groups. There was a strong sharing of ideas and opinions. It was interesting to see the sudden blow of contact

with major issues, often involving conflicting values and new information."

A program of films, field trips, and general recreation supported the central activities of the Institute, and there was little time and energy left for the "extras." The Institute itself seems to have been tremendously appreciated by the students, whose testimony, including thoughtful suggestions for future programs, is available from the Director of the American Freedom Summer Institute, Washington University, St. Louis, along with descriptions of the actual program of lectures, comments by staff members and other information for readers interested in following up on this program. Revealing and appreciative student comments include these:

"The lectures were a challenge to most people to whom high school was never anything but drudgery and good marks."

"The seminars, I think, were the most important. This is where I can take the views and opinions of some brilliant students and a teacher and weigh them with my own. The reciprocity of ideas was really rewarding."

"I was pleased with the objective manner in which the material was presented to us — the absence of scorn for other economic and social structures."

"I knew little of the concepts behind our traditions when I came here. I know some now, but I leave with a real desire to learn more — and I think I know how to go about this."

Six Challenging Summer Weeks for Teachers

At St. Louis University, another project developed out of the concern of school people in the community. The university set up an Institute on Freedom and Communism, and was joined in the sponsorship of this by the Navy League of the United States. There were two six-week workshops, one on the theory and application of communism, one on the theory, history and institutions of American freedom. These were for high school and college teachers of the social sciences. The university's objective was to provide training for teachers who would be able to take genuine leadership in their own schools or school systems. Both workshops were conducted by members of the university faculty and both included a number of key guest lecturers.

The workshop on the theory and application of communism consisted of two courses (six hours of graduate credit) tracing the social, economic, historical and philosophical backgrounds of communism in

the nineteenth century, followed by study of the modern Russian state. There were also afternoon and evening sessions, beyond the course work, on helping the participating teachers use the knowledge they were getting in their own schools to which they would return in the fall. These sessions concentrated on devising curricula, useful bibliographies, teacher training programs, etc. There were forty-six teachers in the program, half of them from outside the St. Louis area and three from foreign countries.

For the workshop on the theory, history and institutions of American freedom, the same general structure prevailed, including a course in the history of ideas which focused on certain philosophical, literary and political concepts on freedom, and a course on the development of the institutions of American freedom. The same emphasis on *how to use the material* dominated the afternoon and evening sessions of the six weeks' program. There were twenty-three school and college teachers taking part, twelve from out of the state and one from Japan. Of the St. Louis participants, the breakdown is an interesting mirror of the Educational Council's cooperative spirit; two from the city's public schools, three from the country's public schools, five from the Catholic school system, one from the Lutheran school system.

During 1962-63, the university has planned to televise some of the workshop lectures and discussions, and certain lectures are now being collected for publication in paperback form. The university has also been collecting for a long time Marxist and communist philosophical literature. The Institute has been increasing this library, with emphasis on materials relative to communism and to American values which would be particularly helpful to teachers. A still further stimulus to the two workshops was the fact that the university was conducting a training program for a group of Peace Corps Volunteers during the summer of 1962 for assignment to the Republic of Honduras. The staff of the two workshops also took part in the Peace Corps training program, providing concentrated instruction both about American institutions and about communism.

Other follow-up activities resulting from the St. Louis University Institute of the summer of 1962 include a short radio course for the winter of 1962-63 on the nature of communism, a weekly program incorporating material from both workshops, to begin on television early in 1963, a winter course for high school teachers covering certain key materials from the two workshops and to be conducted on Saturday mornings, and a projected summer program for 1963. The coming summer program will be aimed at these groups: high school teacher-leaders;

college teachers; foreign leaders in labor, politics, and industry; foreign graduate students; American graduate students planning to teach in Latin America. For further information, write the Rev. R. J. Henle, S.J., Institute on Freedom and Communism, St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Mo.

Another Council Project and a Valuable Product

The Educational Council for Responsible Citizenship carried out a one-month workshop in one of the schools in the summer of 1962 in which teachers from the St. Louis public, Catholic and Lutheran high schools studied, conversed, debated and finally produced an "Outline Guide for Teaching the Meaning of American Freedom." The outline provides useful guides and topics for teachers and covers a wide range of subjects. And it is followed by thirty-five pages of extraordinarily useful descriptions of books and pamphlets in an Annotated Bibliography. This includes an annotated list of literary selections for English classes organized as follows: (1) The Ideal of Freedom, (2) The Dignity of the Individual, (3) The Role of the Individual in a Free Society, (4) The Role of the Individual in the Free Economy, (5) Challenges to the Preservation of the American Way.

A Handbook for Social Studies Teachers

The Council reports on this venture as follows:

"In May of 1961 a working committee of teachers representing most of the school districts in St. Louis County met at the request of the Co-operating St. Louis Suburban School Districts. The Working Committee was asked to begin development of programs designed to increase the effectiveness of the effort of St. Louis suburban school districts to help pupils become responsible and effective citizens in a rapidly changing and increasingly complex world.

"Specifically the Working Committee was charged to review and develop programs that:

"1. Strengthen faith in and commitment to democratic ideas and processes and the political, economic, social and moral aspects of our way of life.

"2. Provide objective knowledge and basic understanding of communism and other ideological forces in today's world that threaten the continued existence of the freedoms

which are and should continue to be the heritage of present and future generations.

"The Working Committee determined that the first step was to make available to every junior and senior high school social studies teacher the basic philosophy and practices of the democratic heritage, and of the totalitarian nations which would destroy democracy. To this end the Working Committee prepared this handbook during the school year of 1961-62.

"This handbook is designed for teachers. It is not a course of study for pupils, although units of study may be developed by the teacher from the material in the handbook and the appended bibliography. It is the belief of the Working Committee that if the citizens of the United States are to remain free, they must exercise freedom, with all that that implies. Further, if teachers are to discharge their responsibility to the nation's youth, they must accept the responsibility to educate themselves. There is no short-cut to knowledge, just as there is no short-cut to victory.

"Much of the content of this handbook will be devoted to an examination of the philosophy of Marxism-Leninism. The democrat who searches for truth must know the case of his chief opponent as well as he knows his own. To reject communism is not enough. To accept democracy is not enough. Thorough understanding of philosophy and practice, of myth and fact, must precede any effort of a teacher to meet his responsibility to his society and to his pupils."

"The Point of It All . . ."

In the concluding section of his *Saturday Review* editorial, Mr. Cuninggim speaks for the Danforth Foundation in its support of this St. Louis venture and speaks as well for the quality and hope of the venture itself:

"The point of it all, of course, is to enable the local schools and colleges to do a better job of educating their students in an understanding of America, an awareness of the dangers we face at home and abroad, and an appreciation of the meaning and marks of freedom in our society. Those who would argue that this could easily become indoctrination and propaganda would find ready agreement among the educators of St. Louis — and this is why they mean to keep this task in their own hands. But those who would argue that this is not the proper business of education at all (yet are there really any such these days?) would provoke strenuous rebuttal from the local group. They believe that we Americans are long overdue for a genuinely educational effort at building an informed, inspired and responsible citizenry."

CHAPTER VII

A SAMPLING OF OTHER PROJECTS, OBSERVATIONS AND MATERIALS

Other schools' and school systems' programs—preparation of new materials—recommended readings—comments from teachers, school heads

A. School Programs

1. A Course in Russian History at the John Burroughs School, 775 S. Price Road, St. Louis 24, Mo., Leonard D. Haertter, Director.

This course, an optional, full-time course for seniors, is a history of the U.S.S.R. from medieval times to the mid-twentieth century. Particular emphasis is placed on the impact of the Eastern Orthodox Church on the course of Russian history. The teacher, William Vibert, writes, "The fact that it was Eastern Christianity and not Roman Christianity which became the religion of Russia is of great significance in understanding the apparent paradox of Marxism succeeding in a non-industrial state." A review of the development of Marxian socialism which calls on Modern European History, the prerequisite course to this one, is also an important part of the course.

Students take the final examination in March, and the rest of the year is spent on individual project-papers. Regular class meetings are stopped, except for a once-a-week meeting of the class to discuss problems of research. The teacher consults privately with individual students during the other periods. Mr. Vibert writes, "The students chose their own topics with one limitation—that the class was to investigate the question: Is Post-Revolutionary history in Russia a departure or a continuation of the Tsarist period? Thus, each topic had to be investigated before and after the Revolution with some conclusion drawn as to the basic question. For example, Anti-Semitism in Russia was examined in both periods; so, too, was the Status of the Church.

"The high point of this seminar period was the last two weeks when the class reconvened on a regular basis and the term papers were turned in on ditto master stencils and were in turn reproduced with enough copies so each student received a paper from each of the other members of the class. Then each night one paper was read by everyone; on the next day the writer took over the class and defended his paper. Questions were asked in class and each student handed in a critique at the end of the day on the quality of the paper and its defense.

"I wanted each student to have the benefit of doing an independent research paper and defending it on its own merits before his peers. I also intended that these students should come to grips as much as possible with the practical application of Marxist-Leninist doctrine in Russia. As much as possible, limitations on source material were expanded by allowing these students to go to the libraries of Washington and St. Louis Universities during school hours as their schedule permitted. Furthermore, I intended that each student should have at the end of the course a collection of papers bearing on a common question from many points of view, none of which were imposed by me."

2. Curriculum Changes and a New Course: St. Louis Country Day School, 425 N. Warson Road, St. Louis 24, Mo., Ashby T. Harper, Headmaster.

The school has made increases in curriculum requirements in the social studies. Pierson F. Melcher, Director of Studies, writes that this has been done "to accomplish what we feel is the only preferable alternative to 'indoctrination against communism'." He reports that the school has "introduced an 8th-9th grade sequence in ancient and medieval history; reduced the elective alternatives to the point where more than two-thirds of each 11th grade will take a course in Modern European History; and added to the 12th grade U. S. History requirement an additional half course in Contemporary Affairs (see below). In all of our history courses (including those in our lower school), the teachers spend a great deal of time evaluating and comparing political systems, with emphasis on source documents. The student is not simply told that communism is evil and that democracy is good: rather he is urged to study both. . . . He is brought to an understanding of the historical reasons for the development of communism and sees that one cannot expect it to disappear under the impact of a few anti-communist hate slogans. He is also shown that the mistakes of democracy have often fed communism and is urged to see wherein our democracy can be improved. Thus we hope to bring him to a critical but, therefore,

far deeper understanding and faith in his own system of government than would otherwise be possible."

Mr. Melcher describes the new required senior course in contemporary affairs as follows: "The course is divided into five or six major blocks of a very general sort. Last year these blocks included Soviet Communism, Red China, African nationalism, the European Common Market, and American capitalism. During the year each student is given and required to read a weekly news magazine. (Last year it was *U. S. News and World Report*.) In addition, the teacher chooses one or two paperback books which deal with certain aspects of each major block and the students read these as well. The idea is to examine in depth the physical, economic, and political geography of the area under study, together with its history (necessarily somewhat sketchy) and its system of government. The teacher constantly draws parallels and contrasts with U. S. democracy. For example, in the block on Russian Communism, four paperback books were read by the students and/or drawn on rather heavily by the teacher. These were: Curtiss, *The Russian Revolutions of 1917* (Anvil), Bauer, Inkeles, and Kluckhohn, *How the Soviet System Works* (Vintage), Salvadori, *The Rise of Modern Communism* (Holt), and Crankshaw, *Khrushchev's Russia* (Penguin). For his own use, the teacher studied a good many others. For the unit on American capitalism, the following books were heavily used by students and/or teacher: Almond, *The American People and Foreign Policy* (Praeger), Turner and Challener, *National Security in the Nuclear Age* (Praeger), President's Commission on National Goals, *Goals for Americans* (Spectrum), Commager et al., *Contemporary Civilization*, vol. 2 (Scott, Foresman), and Heckman, *The Economics of American Living* (Rand McNally, hardback)."

3. A Course in Contemporary Thought, a Senior High School Elective at the Lakeside School, 14050 First Avenue Northeast, Seattle 55, Washington, Dexter K. Strong, Headmaster.

Palmer Patterson, the teacher who has given this course at the school for three years,¹ makes these observations in a letter: "Only a part of the reading we did in Contemporary Thought had to do with communism as such. We read Edward Crankshaw's *Khrushchev's Russia* (Penguin), Chandra-Sekhar's *Red China* (Praeger), and Richard Crossman's (ed). *The God That Failed* (Bantam). In the last-named book I stressed particularly Koestler, Gide, and Richard Wright.

¹Mr. Patterson is now (1962-1963) teaching in the Department of History of the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

"We read Martin Luther King's *Stride Toward Freedom*. Chapter Six, which deals with the philosophy and theology of passive resistance, I stressed particularly. Presenting passive resistance in relation to Thoreau and Gandhi and Bertrand Russell (King treats of the origins of the movement), and showing how the Montgomery bus strike fits in, helped perhaps. I was able to draw upon various articles in *The Reporter*, *New York Times Magazine*, *Fellowship* (the organ of the Fellowship of Reconciliation), and literature from C.O.R.E. (Congress of Racial Equality) along with *Cry, the Beloved Country*. Some read various works by James Baldwin, Richard Wright, Peter Abrahams, Colin MacInnis, Langston Hughes, and Ralph Ellison, in order to get some notion of the Negro's (or African's) own view of himself and of the social conflicts affecting him.

"Another aspect of the course was the reading of B. H. Skinner's *Walden Two*, a behavioral psychologist's Utopia (all 'socially-engineered'), and, coupled with that, Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World Revisited*. (Last year we read C. S. Lewis' *Abolition of Man*.) Through these we were able to examine some aspects of social control and possible directions of social evolution in the U. S. and the Western world. We brought in such things as Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, Whyte's *The Organization Man*, and Packard's *The Hidden Persuaders*. In connection with this some students read one or another of the following: Shepherd Mead's *Big Ball of Wax*, Huxley's *Brave New World*, and Orwell's *1984*. Many had already read one or more of these and so we could talk in terms of their content and ideas.

"Complementing these we read Conant's *Modern Science and Modern Man*. This didn't go over too well, but I tried to emphasize primarily the impact of science on thought or social arrangements, bringing in Bertrand Russell's *Impact of Science on Society*, and Lundberg's *Can Science Save Us?*. I relied heavily on Dr. Morris' *This Man-Made World* here, on the use of models for scientific thinking and on how this approach can be applied to other fields including religion.

"You can see by now that the presentation had a strong humanism approach, and not a little of Judeo-Christianity. Next year I would have used Bayne's *The Optional God*.

"We read part of Downs' *Books That Changed The World*, especially those parts on social, economic, and political questions: Adam Smith, Marx, Freud, MacKinder, Mahan, Hitler, Paine, Thoreau, and Stowe. We also read Heilbroner's *The Worldly Philosophers*, which, tied into some of the above essays, gave some introduction to economic ideas. Here we were able to discuss somewhat Galbraith's *The Afflu-*

ent Society, Adler and Kelso's *The Capitalist Manifesto*, and Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (we read Packard's *The Status Seekers* and were able to tie some of its elements in also). We brought in briefly some of Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom*, and Keynes. Heilbroner deals with them.

"We talked about the impact of the West on the non-West (a favorite topic of mine) and were able to pull together things from Paton's *Cry, the Beloved Country*, and Weyer's *Primitive Peoples Today*. We also discussed some of the works of Indian and West Indian novelists. On this topic I was able to draw upon my own reading as related particularly to Africa and American Indians.

"There is a little more, but this was the heart of the course this year. If there is any conclusion in relation to communism it may be that communism is the result of real injustice and failings; that such situations persist; that people in extremes may turn to them. (We were able briefly to contrast India and China regarding their means to the end of higher living standards and modernization.) We observed, I think, that other solutions were available within the framework of Western civilization. I don't know how much got over as clearly formulated ideas. However, I think what we did will provide a jumping-off place for later reading and stimulate students to read regardless of whether they are involved in a particular college course.

"I hoped by using all paperbacks and by frequent references to the availability of these that students would be encouraged to read more. By trying to make these things seem vital and immediate, I hoped to take them out of the category of classroom exercises."

4. A Course in Modern European History for Juniors, at the Tabor Academy, Marion, Mass., James W. Wickenden, Headmaster.

Thomas H. Buffinton writes that "while our concern is with history, our hope is that in the process we put communism in its proper perspective and make clear its aims and methods." He describes the way the course develops one of its threads, the rise of communism, in this way: "Our junior year Modern European history course begins with a discussion of the French Revolution of 1789. We use some material in Becker, *Modern History*, and a lecture on the Enlightenment to get the students started. Then they read Gershoy, *The French Revolution* and the D. C. Heath problem book, *The Economic Origins of the French*

Revolution. This last is very valuable since it discusses the problem from a number of viewpoints, including the Marxian. Thus, at the very outset, we indicate that there is never a single explanation to an historical problem.

"A similar approach is taken with the revolution of 1848. Here the student must wrestle with the additional problems created by a rising socialist movement and by incipient nationalism.

"After a unit on nationalism and the movement for unification in Italy and Germany, the student is introduced to some of the economic, social, scientific and religious thinking of the 19th Century. Here he is introduced to Marxist theory.

"When we reach the First World War, the problem book is again brought out, but this time the student is on his own. From readings in the problem book, in the text (Hall & Davis, *The Course of Europe Since Waterloo*), and in the library, he is asked to form his own opinion on the responsibility for the war and write a paper on it.

"While this is going on outside of class, a quick survey of 19th Century Russia ending with a detailed study of the Revolution of 1917 is undertaken in class. Texts used, other than Hall & Davis, are Karpovich, *Imperial Russia*, and A. E. Adams (ed.), *The Russian Revolution and Bolshevik Victory*.

"At this point there is a change in classroom schedule which enables us to get the added time to carry on the extra work. Twice a week, the classes meet in the library to read for the report on World War I and to enable the instructor to check on their progress. Three days a week Russian history is discussed in regular classroom meetings.

"When the origins of the Second World War are discussed, the students are asked to read Eric Hoffer, *The True Believer*. This little book, which presents some 'thoughts on the nature of mass movements,' is read with more enthusiasm by the students than any other book we have ever assigned.

"This year we also read Koestler's *Darkness At Noon*. It provided us with another approach to communism, one which makes a dramatic criticism of Stalinist Russia. It is made even more valuable by the fact that many of the ideas introduced in Hoffer are found expressed in a different and more vivid way in *Darkness at Noon*.

"Thus communism is set in perspective: twentieth century Russia is seen in relation to nineteenth century Russia, the Russian revolution of 1917 in relation to other revolutions, the communist state in relation to other dictatorships, the communist movement in relation to other mass movements."

5. The Development of Materials for the Atlanta Public Schools, City Hall, Atlanta 3, Georgia, Dr. John W. Letson, Superintendent.

Rual W. Stephens, Deputy Superintendent, writes of a variety of community pressures in recent years on the educational program, some coming from groups which were "honorable, well-intentioned and conservative in their political outlook," and some of them "suspicious of Washington, social legislation, centralized control, 'socialism,' et cetera. Some of these would like to turn the clock back to the McKinley era. It was not until 1959 that we were attacked by a right-wing group, the Americanism Committee of a local American Legion post, about communist teachers and 'fellow traveler' thinking. Specifically, this group charged that the Great Decisions materials, provided by the Foreign Policy Association, were subversive. They carried their battle to the Grand Jury and succeeded in getting that organization to register a protest against the materials. (These materials, incidentally, were used by senior social studies courses in certain high schools.) I had testified before the Grand Jury that these materials were not subversive and it was our intention to continue to use them. We never departed from this position despite an intensification of the campaign against the materials. A later Grand Jury reversed the previous position against the Foreign Policy Association.

"In early 1961, a series of forums called 'Seminar on American Strategy' was conducted under the auspices of the Army, medical associations, and Chamber of Commerce. On the whole, these seminars were reasonably free of emotionalism and propaganda. Out of this series of meetings there evolved a local organization called 'Education for Freedom.' The school system was well represented among this group and succeeded in contributing to the direction of its policies.

"Toward the end of 1961, the schools embarked on these efforts to prepare appropriate materials:

"(1) It was first determined that our 'program' should be one permeating all grades and classes, with particular emphasis in the social studies in the upper elementary grades and running through the high school years; that the approach would be one attempting a better understanding of the underlying principles of the American concept particularly, and of the democratic point of view generally; that there be no single course, single-text, indoctrination type of instruction; that, appropriate to the grade level, comparisons be drawn, factually and un-

emotionally, between communistic and democratic theory and practice with respect to equality, justice, thought, religion, education, labor, economics, society, and government; that the whole conflict be studied with a view to ascertaining the truth, recognizing the truth, and applying truth to the solution of contemporary problems; that areas in which conflicts of interest exist be illuminated and that methods and techniques of dealing with these problems be fully explored.

"(2) In carrying out a program in keeping with the foregoing guidelines the following steps were taken:

a. A steering committee was appointed composed of two Area (Assistant) Superintendents and the Director of Instruction, with the Deputy Superintendent generally responsible.

b. Representative committees comprising teachers and principals were appointed to prepare curriculum materials for utilization in the several grades and social studies areas.

c. These committees prepared curriculum units and materials for the upper elementary grades, for Civics and Georgia History in the 8th grade, for World Geography in the 9th grade, for World History in the 10th grade, for American History in the 11th grade, and for American Government and Economics in the 12th grade.

"At present (fall, 1962) these materials are virtually completed. Several in-service programs in the spring and fall of 1962 have helped to launch trial versions of the materials, and plans are now being drawn up for use of the School Board-owned educational television station for the same purpose."

6. A Course in Contemporary History at the Roxbury Latin School, 101 St. Theresa Ave., West Roxbury, Mass., Frederick R. Weed, Headmaster.

The course, taught by Warden Dilworth, includes emphasis on Russia and China, with these common readings: Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia*; Mendenhall, Henning and Foord, *The Dynamic Force of Liberty in Modern Europe* (including writings of major political and social philosophers for close study and comparison); George Kennan, *American Foreign Policy, 1900-1950*; Winston Churchill, *The Gathering Storm* and *Triumph and Tragedy*.

These books on Russia and China are widely used in the course for student papers and general study:

The Changing World of Soviet Russia—David Dallin
Inside Russia Today—John Gunther
The Russian Revolution—Alan Morehead
Lenin—David Shub
Stalin—I. Deutsch
Three Who Made a Revolution—B. Wolfe
Khrushchev's Russia—Edward Chankshaw
Russia—Charles Thayer
From Lenin to Khrushchev—Hugh Seton-Watson
A Short History of Russia—R. D. Charques
Russia and the West under Lenin and Stalin—George Kennan
Soviet Foreign Policy after Stalin—David J. Dallin
Red Phoenix—Harry Schwartz
The Kremlin and World Politics—P. Mosely
Russia, the Atom, and the West—George Kennan
Soviet Foreign Policy—Max Beloff
Soviet Foreign Policy in the Far East—Max Beloff
A History of the Soviet Union—Georg von Rauch
Dr. Zhivago—Boris Pasternak
1984—George Orwell
Darkness at Noon—Arthur Koestler
The New Class—Milovan Djilas
The Prospects for Communist China—W. W. Rostow
Communist China and Asia—A. Doak Barnett
Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao—B. Schwartz
The Continuing Struggle—Richard L. Walker
The United States and China—John Fairbank
Communist China's Strategy in the Nuclear Age—Alice L. Hsieh

For contrast and comparison, these readings are widely used in the course:

The Purpose of American Politics—Hans Morgenthau
The Necessity for Choice—Henry Kissinger
America the Vincible—E. M. Hughes
The Uncertain Trumpet—Maxwell Taylor
Strategy in the Missile Age—Bernard Brodie
War and Peace in the Space Age—James Gavin
On Thermonuclear War—H. Kahn
The Anatomy of Revolution—Crane Brinton

John Kennedy—James Macgregor Burns
Richard Nixon—Earl Mazo
Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox—James MacGregor Burns
Eisenhower, the Inside Story—Robert Donovan
Advise and Consent—Alan Drury
Senator Joe McCarthy—Richard Rovere
Politics in America—D. W. Brogan
The Making of the President, 1960—Theodore White
The Affluent Society—John K. Galbraith
The Crucial Decade: America, 1945-1955—Eric Goldman
American Foreign Policy since World War II—J. W. Spanier
The United States in World Affairs, 1960—Richard Stebbins
Munich: Prologue to Tragedy—J. Wheeler-Bennett
The Twilight of France—A. Worth
The Spanish Civil War—Hugh Thomas
Hitler—Alan Bullock
The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich—William L. Shirer
Roosevelt, Churchill, Stalin—H. Fois
Roosevelt and Hopkins—Robert Sherwood
Neither War nor Peace—Hugh Seton-Watson
Inside Europe Today—John Gunther
The Legacy of Hiroshima—Edward Teller

7. A Program for Seniors in Government and Economics in the Richmond Public Schools, 312 North Ninth Street, Richmond 19, Va., H. I. Willett, Superintendent.

The Richmond Schools have prepared an interesting outline for historical background of international communism, along with a useful bibliography and notes on films and filmstrips. Available from Mr. Lucien D. Adams, Assistant Superintendent of Schools at the above address.

8. Conferences and Concerns of the Council for Religion in Independent Schools, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, N. Y., Earl G. Harrison, Jr., Director.

Mr. Harrison writes, "I believe some of the most pertinent criticism and evaluation of contemporary communism comes from theological perspectives, *e.g.*, one can demonstrate how communism attempts to meet religious needs such as substituting the classless society in the place of the traditional pattern. I know that serious treatment of communist

philosophy is taking place in some sacred studies courses. But it is extremely difficult to be more specific because it is generally a section within the material and not the entire program. However, at the St. Andrew's School, Middletown, Delaware, Robert A. Moss, Headmaster, the Sixth Form course has the following description:

"In relation to fundamental questions pertaining to the nature of man and the meaning of his existence, three philosophical positions are considered: the materialist view of Marxism, the idealist view of Hinduism, and the particular insights of the Christian Faith. Texts: Mayo, *Introduction to Marxist Theory*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1960; Marx, *The Communist Manifesto*, Chicago, Regnery, 1954; Morgan, *The Religion of the Hindus*, New York, Ronald Press, 1953; Finegan, *Beginnings in Theology*, N. Y., Association Press, 1956; Paton, *Too Late the Phalarope*, N. Y., Scribner, 1953.' "

The Council is interested in and seeks out constructive programs in schools on such subjects as these, and is also eager to learn of new ones.

The Council also sponsors many conferences each year. The topic for the Buck Hill Falls Conference is selected by a student committee, and about 350 students from 45 schools attend. The 1962 Conference was entitled "Christianity Challenged and Challenger in a Communist Shadowed World." A major theme in the presentations and student discussions had to do with Christian answers and approaches to the challenges posed by communism.

9. Presentation of Material on Communism in the History Programs of the Public Schools of the District of Columbia, Franklin Administration Building, Thirteenth and J Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D. C., Carl F. Hansen, Superintendent.

The interweaving of the study of communism as one important thread in the history program is described generally as follows by John D. Koontz, Assistant Superintendent:

6th Grade: A four week unit on the geography of the U.S.S.R. with some information on the history, political structure, and the social and economic aspects of Russian communism.

8th Grade: American History: an abbreviated exploration of the background of the contemporary relations of the "iron curtain"

countries with the "free world" including an introduction to communism as a political philosophy.

10th Grade: In World History and in Modern History: the development of communism as a part of European history in the 19th and 20th centuries.

11th Grade: In American History: a more complete study of the background and contemporary development of communism not only in the U.S.S.R. but in other communist countries as they effect general world events and American policy.

12th Grade: American Government: includes U.S.S.R. as one of four governmental structures studied for comparative purposes.

12th Grade: Sociology: includes both a study of social structures in U.S.S.R. and the nature of communist movement in the United States.

12th Grade: Economics: communism is studied in terms of its economic organization and philosophy as one of four types of economic-political structures i.e., capitalism, communism, state socialism, and absolutism.

Other inclusions: Geographical studies of U.S.S.R., China, Yugoslavia, and other iron curtain countries as a part of World Geography in the 9th, 10th, and 12th grades.

Historical study of communism as a part of the contemporary scene in Latin America in the 20th century as a part of Latin American History in the 11th and 12th grade.

A study of Utopian philosophies of the Greeks as a part of Ancient History, 9th grade.

Special seminars for teachers conducted this fall (1962) include:
Geographic Factors in Russian History and Soviet Policy
The Dual History of the Soviet State
Economic Institutions in the USSR
The USSR in World Affairs

10. Experimental Programs in History which Develop Study of Communism in Context, in the Tucson Public Schools, 1010 East Tenth Street, Tucson, Arizona, Robert D. Morrow, Superintendent.

The Tucson Schools are committed to the idea of study of communism in its historical context. (See the statement from Thomas L. Lee, Assistant Superintendent, in Chapter One.) The attempt is to introduce the subject of communism at appropriate points in the various courses, where it seems to fit as part of the material being studied. Of special interest are examples of this in the American Problems Classes and throughout the social studies curriculum at the Cataline High School and in the Rincon High School. (Descriptions and Outlines available from Mr. Lee at the above address.)

11. A Summer Program of Russian Studies at the Choate School, Wallingford, Conn., the Rev. Seymour St. John, Headmaster.

The most recent Russian studies program (summer, 1962) was organized as follows: students took three courses at the school, each course meeting for an hour a day, six days a week, for four weeks: (1) LANGUAGE: In order that the students might quickly learn to speak and understand Russian, the language program began on an oral basis, using the techniques of the language laboratory. After the students attained some proficiency in speaking, the study of grammar was introduced to develop skills in reading and writing. For those whose background in the language permitted, advanced work was offered. (2) HISTORY: A survey of Russian history, from Kiev-Russia to the present, served as the basis for understanding Russian society and its culture: literature, music, architecture, and painting. Special emphasis was given to the political and economic developments of the 19th and 20th centuries. Short stories and short novels of 19th-century authors such as Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Dostoevsky, and Tolstoy were read in translation and supplemented by Russian films. (3) RUSSIA TODAY: This course in contemporary Russian affairs touched upon such topics as: the structure of the Soviet government and the Communist Party; Soviet economic policy; Russia's competition in the international market; foreign-aid programs; Russia and the satellite countries; Russia and China.

There was a series of lectures by outstanding men who have traveled widely in Russia. Among those who have lectured at this or at

previous sessions are Cyril E. Black, Professor of History at Princeton University; The Honorable Charles E. Bohlen, former United States Ambassador to Russia; Firuz Kazemzadeh, Assistant Professor of History at Yale University, and Albert Parry, Chairman of the Department of Russian Studies at Colgate University.

One credit toward college admission was granted for the successful completion of these courses.

At the conclusion of the Russian Summer Session, members of the course traveled to Russia and satellite countries for a month. This tour was conducted by a teacher (also the director of the program) who has traveled extensively in Europe and led similar trips to the continent and the Soviet Union. The trip included twenty-eight days in Russia (Leningrad, Kiev, Sochi, Tbilisi, Rostov, Moscow) and visits to Helsinki, Warsaw, Prague, and Amsterdam.

Tuition fee for the four weeks' program at Choate: \$400. The cost for the trip to Russia: \$1,600.

B. *Some Further Observations and Suggestions for Materials*

1. Peter Schrag of Amherst College (see also his excellent article "The True-Blue Schoolhouse," in *Commonweal*, May 25, 1962): "I think the great fallacy that runs through all of the existing courses is the notion that communism is a subject. I'm sure that there are a number of good courses being taught about contemporary Russia or simply courses centering on contemporary problems in international affairs. It's my guess that these would be far more effective on the subject of communism than any other course which purports to be devoted to the subject. The latest effort on the teaching of communism is a joint operation by the National Education Association and the American Legion; you can get the outline of this course by writing to either organization. As far as other materials are concerned, in the course of the research that I have been doing both for the *Commonweal* article and for some future writings in this general area I have collected a tremendous amount of literature, none of it terribly helpful to anyone looking for a positive approach to this problem. It seems to me that if I were faced with the task of proposing a positive approach I would outline a course in comparative government or in modern history either one of which could be taught only with considerable attention being given to the communist movement. After all it is clear that were it not for the emotional and jingoistic attitudes that communism can now arouse in this country this kind of political system presents no unique problem for the high school

teacher. There is no reason in my mind why the history of modern Russia, the Cold War or the economics and politics of communism should be any more difficult to teach than the French Revolution, the American Civil War, or the practices of the absolute monarchs of the 17th century."

2. Gordon T. Schofield, Headmaster, Maumee Valley Country Day School, Maumee, Ohio: "The approach I favor would be to teach a course on communism and communist philosophy rather than anti-communism. Students should read, completely or in excerpted form, the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin in order to gain a better idea of communist philosophy. In addition I think works like John Reed's *Ten Days That Shook The World* and David Shub's *Lenin* have great value in presenting the ideas of Communist thought. I also feel that criticisms like Milovan Djilas's *The New Class* and *Conversations With Stalin* would help a student get a broader picture of the entire problem."

3. David C. Twichell, former headmaster, the Pomfret School, Pomfret, Connecticut: "The positive 'effective' approach must commence with a study and definition of American values rather than the reverse. I suspect, furthermore, that a course on 'anti-communism' might surprise its authors by creating considerable pro-communist interest. I believe if we could build up a strong positive understanding of what *freedom*, *responsibility* and *accountability* really meant as yardsticks of the American way of life that then this basic conviction within each student would prove the best possible antibody to communism or what have you. Actually we should worry more about American negativism—a large catch-all expression for so many of our modern 'anti-s'—than such things as communism."

4. Pierson F. Melcher, Director of Studies, St. Louis Country Day School, St. Louis 24, Missouri: "The lesson of the Korean defectors, it seems to me, is not that we need more anti-communist indoctrination (which the Army already serves up in large quantity) but rather a deeper understanding of human nature, world history, and our governmental processes. Any kind of 'anti' indoctrination can result at best only in an unreasoning hate, which, under adverse pressures, could easily be countered by the opposite 'anti' indoctrination."

5. B. Frank Brown, Principal, Melbourne High School, Melbourne, Florida: "Let us hope that our emphasis on American values and their application does not get lost in our concern for anti-communism

courses. . . . I think that the evil of communism is best handled through a renewed emphasis upon the dignity and worth of the individual, and I might even suggest that this be the central theme in a new history which would constantly refer to the great documents which are the heart-beat of this concept."

6. A. Wesley Roehm, Oak Park and River Forest High School, Oak Park, Illinois: ". . . My own predilection is to turn more and more in all of my classes to dealing with historical problems and concepts. By examining such ideas as liberty versus authority, economic determinism, the importance of consensus in a democratic society, and the place of morality in diplomacy, the student may be led to discover how historians arrive at their differing interpretations or conclusions, and how tentative, of necessity, these must be."

"The use of documents . . . plays an important role in the study of such concepts and problems, giving the student ample opportunity to sharpen his critical faculties by making his own judgments, and affording him a base for the evaluation of the judgments of others."

7. Carmela E. Santoro, Associate Professor of Social Science, Rhode Island College, Providence 8, Rhode Island: "I am very much concerned with the increasing pressures for courses on communism. It would be a grave error if these became indoctrination type courses rather than scholarly approaches to the study of communism. My own approach to such pressures would be:

- (1) Invite reputable political scientists to participate in setting up content and materials for use in the lower levels. That is, invite college professors to assist teachers in selecting and preparing materials.
- (2) Evaluate all materials and check the sources of all publications carefully. Get the assistance of skilled librarians for this.
- (3) Be sure that the teachers who are asked to handle the instruction are properly prepared not only at the undergraduate level, but also at the graduate level if possible.
- (4) Teach well and accurately the meaning and implications in the Declaration of Independence and in the Bill of Rights.
- (6) Try to develop an understanding of the essential characteristics of a democracy and of the processes

by which changes are effected in democratic societies. I think this is very important."

8. John P. Lunstrum, Co-ordinator for School Social Studies, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana: On two significant sets of materials:

- (1) *"The Foreign Relations Series: North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools* (Mr. James M. Becker, Suite 832, First National Bank Building, Chicago 3, Ill.)

Our specialists in the Russian and East European Institute here are favorably impressed with the materials developed for students on the subject of 'The United States and the Soviet Challenge.'

- (2) *"Houghton Mifflin Publishing Company, Boston*
The recent publication, *High School Social Studies Perspectives*, contains an excellent interpretative article by John G. Armstrong on 'Area Study: The USSR.' (This, of course, is intended for teachers.)"

Dr. Lunstrum adds this note on the attitude of teachers: "With the assistance of my colleagues in the Institute for Russian and East European Studies, an effort has been made to urge teachers to:

- (1) Resist the demands for a crash program of indoctrination in anti-communism.
- (2) Introduce concepts about communism in the context of carefully organized courses in world history, geography, comparative government or International Relations.
- (3) Avoid the catechistic "know thy enemy" philosophy which is the antithesis of a liberal education."

9. The Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, Inc., 200 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y. This foundation has prepared a number of studies of major usefulness to teachers, the most recent of which is *A Bibliography of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties*, prepared by Alexander D. Brooks for the foundation. This is a 150-page paperback, available for \$1.95, which lists and comments on non-fiction and fiction which relates to many different aspects of civil rights and civil liberties. The book also includes a useful section on audio-visual materials.

The foundation, in cooperation with the National Council for the Social Studies, has published a set of proposals agreed on in a special workshop of legal experts and educators. These proposals are designed as a background guide for curriculum improvement and appear in a report entitled *A Program for Improving Bill of Rights Teaching in High Schools*. (It is available from the foundation at the above address, for \$1.65, with discounts for teachers.) The report asks "a coordinated curriculum from kindergarten through high school and college" to take account of the growing maturity of young people, and it recommends that where special study of communism is carried on in schools, there should be a special stress on "analysis and understanding of American values on individual rights."

The work of this group of legal experts and educators is continuing in a series of meetings and in the shaping of recommendations to schools on the teaching of individual rights and civil liberties. A November, 1962 seminar on the subject included participants from the American Political Science Association, the Association of American Law Schools, the Civil Liberties Educational Foundation, and the National Council for the Social Studies. Charles Frankel, professor of philosophy at Columbia University, and Louis H. Pollak, professor of law at Yale, are co-chairmen of the task force making a special study in this area. Among those joining in the discussions at the most recent meeting were: the state education commissioners of New York and Pennsylvania, Supreme Court Justice William J. Brennan, several deans of leading law schools and schools of education, and Dr. Calvin E. Gross, New York City's new school superintendent. The first follow-up on this seminar was a report on recommendations presented to the 1962 meeting of the National Council for the Social Studies by Justice Brennan.

10. The Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, 515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N. Y. The League prepares, reprints and/or distributes a wide variety of articles, pamphlets, bibliographies, which are of real service to teachers. The materials include studies of communism and other ideologies in theory and in action.

11. The American Political Science Association, 1726 Massachusetts Ave., N.W., Washington 6, D. C., Evron Kirpatrick, Executive Director. The Association plans to publish early in 1963 an extensive and most useful *Study Guide: Problems of the Soviet Union and Communism*, by Alfred Diamant, Haverford College, and Byrum Carter, Indiana University. The major topics are:

- A. Freedom, Industrialization, and the International Order
- B. Setting and Development of Communism
- C. The Russian Background
- D. Communism in Russia: A Survey
- E. The One Party System
- F. Instruments of Governance I: The Soviets, Law, and Government
- G. Instruments of Governance II: The Command Economy
- H. Communism Faces the World I: International Communism—Strategy and Tactics
- I. Communism Faces the World II: The Appeals of Communism
- J. Communism Faces the World III: The U. S. and the U. S. S. R.

There follows an extensive, most useful annotated bibliography organized under these ten specific unit headings:

- I. Freedom, Industrialization and the International Order
- II. Setting and Development of Communism
- III. The Russian Background
- IV. Communism in Russia: A Survey
- V. The One Party System
- VI. *Instruments of Governance, (1): Soviets, Law, and Government*
- VII. *Instruments of Governance, (2): The Command Economy*
- VIII. *Communism Faces the World, (1): International Communism—Tactics and Strategy*
- IX. *Communism Faces the World, (2): The Appeals of Communism*
- X. *Communism Faces the World, (3): The U. S. and the U.S.S.R.*

12. State Department of Education, Albany, New York. James E. Allen, Jr., Commissioner of Education.

The Department has issued a Study Guide to aid social studies teachers in dealing with the philosophical, political, economic and social

character of communism. Information about communism is integrated principally into three courses: world geography, world history, and American history. The policy statement which introduces the Guide includes these words: "Instruction should treat communism as one form of totalitarianism, with major emphasis upon the clear and present danger and continuing menace it presents to the free world. Since the free democratic American way of life has no better defense than exposure to the full light of truth, instruction about communism should not resort to the use of totalitarian propaganda techniques to achieve its ends.